

The Revolution.

PRINCIPLE, NOT POLICY: JUSTICE, NOT FAVORS.—MEN, THEIR RIGHTS AND NOTHING MORE: WOMEN, THEIR RIGHTS AND NOTHING LESS.

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The Revolution.

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PETITION FOR EQUAL SUFFRAGE.

[EVERY person receiving a copy of this petition is earnestly desired to put it in immediate and thorough circulation for signatures, and return it signed, to the office of the Woman's Suffrage Association of America, 37 Park Row, Room 20, New York.]

To the Senate and House of Representatives, in Congress Assembled:

The undersigned citizens of the State of— earnestly but respectfully request, that in any change or amendment of the Constitution you may propose, to extend or regulate Suffrage, there shall be no distinction made between men and women.

NAMES. | NAMES.

WOMAN'S SUFFRAGE CONVENTION IN WASHINGTON.

LET it be everywhere borne in mind, that the great national event of the season is to be the Woman's Suffrage Convention at the Capital, on Tuesday and Wednesday, the 19th and 20th of January. It is to be Pentecostal in numbers, interest and results.

HORACE GREELEY AND WOMAN'S SUFFRAGE.

We are glad to find that Mr. Greeley's Lyceum lecture this year is on Woman's Suffrage. We have not had the pleasure of listening to the lecture, but from what we hear, we fear the public find it difficult to say exactly where Mr. Greeley stands.

We publish below an article from a keen observer of men and things in Ohio on an editorial of Mr. Greeley's during the Kansas campaign. It was written a year ago and sent to the *Anti-Slavery Standard*, and "returned, refused," because, we suppose, it was too good a criticism on the position of some of our abolitionists who have been striving of late years to show that there is no parallel in the political status of the woman and the negro.

KANSAS—WOMAN AS A VOTER.

We publish herewith an appeal, most influentially signed, to the voters of Kansas, urging them to support the pending Constitutional Amendment whereby the Right of Suffrage is extended to women under like conditions with men. The gravity combined with the comparative novelty of the proposition should secure it the most candid and thoughtful consideration.

We hold fast to the cardinal doctrine of our fathers' Declaration of Independence—"that governments derive their just power from the consent of the governed." It, therefore, the women of Kansas, or of any other State desire, as a class, to be invested with the Right of suffrage, we hold it their clear right to be. We do not hold, and cannot admit, that a small minority of the sex, however earnest and able, have any such right.

It is plain that the experiment of Female Suffrage is to be tried; and, while we regard it with distrust, we are quite willing to see it pioneered by Kansas. She is a

young State, and has had a memorable history, wherein her women have borne an honorable part. She is preponderantly agricultural, with but one city of any size, and very few of her women are other than pure and intelligent. They have already been authorized to vote on the question of Liquor License, and in the choice of School Officers, and, we are assured, with decidedly good results. If, then, a majority of them really desire to vote, we, if we lived in Kansas, should vote to give them the opportunity. Upon a full and fair trial, we believe they would conclude that the Right of Suffrage for Woman was, on the whole, rather a plague than profit, and vote to resign it into the hands of their husbands and fathers. We think so, because we now so seldom find women plowing, or teaming, or mowing (with machines), though there is no other obstacle to their so doing than their own sense of fitness, and though some women, under peculiar circumstances, laudably do all these things. We decidedly object to having ten in every hundred compel the other ninety to vote, or allow the ten to carry elections against the judgment of the ninety; but, if the great body of the women of Kansas wish to vote, we counsel the men to accord them the opportunity. Should the experiment work as we apprehend, they will soon be glad to give it up.—*N. Y. Tribune, Oct., 1867.*

If my experience with the *Tribune* had created confidence in its sense of propriety, as to treatment to be given to just criticism of its editorials and the results of its editorial influences and procured appointments, this criticism would have been offered to the *Tribune* instead of being sent to the *Standard*. But it is otherwise.

In his treatment of the subject of Suffrage for Women, the editor of the *Tribune* acts the part of a politician, when some of us have to think he would do more good if he would more act the part of a man. As one of the "lord's of creation" he comes too near acting the part of a southern "lord of the lash." Of this it is probable he is not aware. But his language needs only slight variation to show the attitude to be identical. His assumption is, that the mass of our female slaves are not inclined to accept this freedom and use it; and his other assumption, or presumption—not less liable to criticism—is, that if they should make a trial of the use of their freedom, as intelligent, responsible beings, interested in a government designated with pretension as being self-government—"government deriving its just powers from the consent of the governed"—they would soon find themselves tired of it and return to the bondage and degradation. Precisely the plea, in spirit and substance, that has always been in the mouths of those who have been interested in doing the voting for a smaller class of slaves in the South. The assumption was that the slaves were better off in their bondage; did not want their freedom; and would be tired of it if they should get it.

In the progress of events, we have arrived at a stage of things showing us who have been interested in this pleading—showing us the motives that have actuated those who have made the plea. If, by outrage and atrocity persisted in, they can yet vindicate themselves in their villainy, they are bound still to make the demonstration—make those who have always been oppressed and suppressed feel that on the whole they better give it up and submit.

Herein was always to be found one of the strongest reasons for breaking up and destroying the bondage at once. The fact that it was so effective in suppressing every noble and ennobling aspiration—in crushing and destroying manhood—as to incline its victims to be at all reconciled to their conditions, was among the strongest reasons for at once and forever doing away with the system. So of this suppression and enslavement of women. If government be a blessing, and if a voting government be the best of governments; and if the best voting is to be looked for from those members of society possessing humanity, intelligence, integrity, honesty, fidelity, efficiency in well doing, devotion to human welfare; then it should be the right of women as well as of men to vote. If the deprivation of this right has disinclined victims to its exercise, the fault is on the part of the tyrannous use of suppressing power, and not on the part of the victims. The paralyzing power should be put away. No doubt Chinese women shrink from pedestrian exercises in which women in more natural treatment and use of their feet take delight. And a large class of our falsely educated American women have heretofore shrunk from exercises requiring unsuppressed vitality. The facts argue enlargement, not continued restriction.

The Editor of the *Tribune* has always been a Henry Clay compromiser. His language, in the editorial now under consideration, is the language of compromise—compromise with prejudice and with aspiration for illegitimate power. He is a member of the Constitutional Convention for altering and amending the New York State Constitution. In an editorial, commenting on the doings of this Convention, the Editor says: "The end to be achieved is 'not for a day, but for all time,' and the means should respect this truth." Yet as a member of the convention, and of the Committee to whom was referred the subject as to whether or not the state constitution should be so amended as to allow Woman Suffrage, he opposed the measure—he voted it down, as a part of his work here done "for all time."

Henry Clay sometimes made show of words about slavery and emancipation, comparable to the show made in the *Tribune* editorial above on this subject of suffrage; but when it came to voting, his votes were against emancipation. While president of the Colonization Society, whose exclusive object was to remove *free* people of color to Africa—and while he may have had in a little too much of old, oily Bourbon—in an utterance in the fifteenth annual meeting of that Society, he let out the idea that that Society's object and tendency were to "provide and keep open a drain for the excess of increase beyond the occasions of profitable employment." This shrewd schemer, this "crafty calculator" and compromiser for the crippling of a class to be oppressed and used for the purposes of politicians and libertines, was Horace Greeley's model statesman. No doubt, Henry Clay was among the *humane* supporters of our American system of oppression, robbery and piracy. No doubt, Horace Greeley is naturally a humane man. But, under the corrupting compromises of the United States constitution and the teachings of his great mode 1st statesman, he was made into a most hurtful compromiser. And I have to agree with Wendell Phillips in dissenting from this use of the word. The word *compromise* has been misused and abused, in the mouths of those who have made a business of trafficking in the rights, the liberties and lives

of human masses. This word has been chosen to help on the cheating—as "*servant*" has been substituted for slave, and "*service*" for slavery. It has been done in depreciation of the odium. Hitherto a truthful use of language, as applied and applicable to popular practices, has been intolerable, because it made these practices odious. *Swindle*, as Phillips has it, is nearer the truthful designation than compromise, as pertaining to too many of the acts of our great national and state politicians in their disposal of the interests of the masses.

To his credit, as a being with brains, Horace Greeley, by indomitable energy and indefatigable application, has worked himself high into place and power, as a manipulator in our governmental matters. His nature and education place him between genuine humanitarians and graceless, profligate politicians. The popular power of the latter has hitherto overborne him. The time has come when he must choose which he will identify himself with—which interest he will serve. The old constitutional swindle is destined to be thoroughly abandoned in performance, as it has been partially, in pretension. And the spirit of this movement is to be extended to the overthrow of other oppressions that have fortified themselves in the church and in the state. The man does not live, the men do not live, who can make reconciliation between the moral elements that have always been at war under our national constitution from the beginning; nor does the man live, nor do the men live, nor will the men live, who shall be permitted to prevent further purification of that constitution from the unrighteousness which has always been inherent in it, and with which we have been cursed; and which still inheres in it and continues cursing us.

Horace Greeley would have Andrew Johnson, and Jefferson Davis, and Thurlow Weed, and William H. Seward, and all the host of profligates, corrupters and conspirators, of whom these are the representatives, to be voters in our government! Reason enough why he would *not* have our women to be voters! But why should a man of Horace Greeley's goodness desire to have government made up of the voices of such depraved, abandoned beings, to the exclusion of the voices of the virtuous, the moral and exemplary?

Horace Greeley has no objection that *all* the women of any one state should have the opportunity to try and see if they would like voting! But if too great a part or proportion of them, like the aged prisoner disinclined to leave the bastile, should not come forward promptly and exercise the right, he objects to the continuance of it to as many as desire it. If this be not his meaning, it is worse than this that he means. It is that those who desire to exercise their right of voting shall be deprived of this right by the decision of the women who desire otherwise. Or if still it be otherwise than this that he means, his meaning must be still worse than this. It is that they are to be forbidden the exercise of this right because Horace Greeley & Co. declare—"We do not, and cannot admit that a small minority of the sex, however earnest and able, have any such rights!"

This goes with Horace Greeley's sentiment uttered in the *Daily Tribune* for the 16th of May, 1863, touching the comparative claims of Southern slaves on us of the North, for our aid in helping them to their freedom. He then undertook to make a distinction in our obligations, in favor of those slaves who had had the good fortune to get within our lines, and against

those who had had the bad fortune to be prevented, contrary to their desires, by their watchful masters. This was one of his points made in pretext for the idea—then Horace Greeley's volunteered idea—that President Lincoln, then four months and a half after the issue of his famous 1st of January proclamation, was at liberty to ignore and set aside the pretensions of that proclamation, as understood by his glorifiers in general; and leave the slaves and slavery in possession of those who had been fighting against the government, if they would then lay down their arms and take up their forfeited institution, under the old, corrupt, demoralizing constitution. On the whole, though, his humanity, morality and rationality are worse toward our larger class of slaves now than they were toward the smaller class formerly. Because he would have the most "earnest and able" of all these to be held in bondage by the voice of the rest, if he can by any means induce the rest so to decide. By parity of reasoning, if he and all other serfes to Southern oligarchy could have persuaded the majority of the victims of the barbarism that they were better in it than out of it, the minority, "however earnest and able," in claiming their rights to be out of it, would not have had, and should not have had, "any such rights." A work Horace Greeley could hardly get about.

His poor sophistry, based on what he assumes to be the choice of women concerning certain out-of-door employments, is unworthy his pretensions as a great political and moral teacher. It would cut him off from voting, as it also would a large class of his co-laborers and competitors in aspirations for governing power; because *they* have not chosen these out-of-door employments. But what will he say of our German women who are in these employments? Will he undertake to decide whether or not they are there of choice? And whether, if it be of choice or of compulsion, will he undertake to decide whether or not, "however earnest and able" they may be, they have "any such right" as the right to vote among those with whom they work?

Under the pretensions of our government, on what does the right to vote rest? Our great pretender starts out, in his second paragraph foregoing, thus: "We hold last to the cardinal doctrine of our fathers' Declaration of Independence—that 'governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed.'" If this did not justify Henry Clay & Co. in their ways, means and methods for obtaining the "consent" of *their smaller* number of slaves, it does not justify Horace Greeley & Co. in their ways, means and methods for obtaining the "consent" of *their larger* number. While it is not to be pretended that all the appliances were and are alike or equal, in the establishing and upholding of the two parts of the oppression, it is not to be denied nor gainsayed that they are alike illegitimate.

Horace Greeley is often warning his political brethren that they will wish they had done differently. Whether he has ever any reflections of this kind or not for himself, it is to be hoped that on this subject of Suffrage for Women he may continue to follow on, as he has been wont to do, and keep up as near to the requirement of the advancing sentiments of the people as his views of his political and other interests will allow; for so heavy a drag as he, is a very great hindrance.

Orson S. MURRAY.
Foster's Crossings, Warren
County, Ohio, Oct., 1867.

THE RIGHTS OF WOMAN.

BY MARY WOLLSTONECRAFT—1790.

CHAPTER XIII.

SOME INSTANCES OF THE FOLLY WHICH THE IGNORANCE OF WOMEN GENERATES ; WITH CONCLUDING REFLECTIONS ON THE MORAL IMPROVEMENT THAT A REVOLUTION IN FEMALE MANNERS MIGHT NATURALLY BE EXPECTED TO PRODUCE.

SECTION V.

As the rearing of children, that is, the laying a foundation of sound health, both of body and mind, in the rising generation, has justly been insisted on as the peculiar destination of woman, the ignorance that incapacitates them must be contrary to the order of things. And I contend that their minds can take in much more and ought to do so, or they will never become sensible mothers. Many men attend to the breeding of horses, and overlook the management of the stable, who would, strange want of sense and feeling! think themselves degraded by paying any attention to the nursery ; yet, how many children are absolutely murdered by the ignorance of women ! But when they escape, and are neither destroyed by unnatural negligence nor blind fondness, how few are managed properly with respect to the infant mind ! So that to break the spirit, allowed to become vicious at home, a child is sent to school ; and the methods taken there, which must be taken to keep a number of children in order, scatter the seeds of almost every vice in the soil thus forcibly torn up.

I have sometimes compared the struggles of these poor children, who ought never to have felt restraint, nor would, had they been always held in with an even hand, to the despairing plunges of a spirited filly, which I have seen breaking on a strand ; her feet sinking deeper and deeper in the sand every time she endeavored to throw its rider, till at last she sullenly submitted.

I have always found horses, an animal I am attached to, very tractable when treated with humanity and steadiness, so that I doubt whether the violent methods taken to break them, do not essentially injure them ; I am however certain that a child should never be thus forcibly tamed after it has injudiciously been allowed to run wild : for every violation of justice and reason, in the treatment of children, weakens their reason. And so early do they catch a character, that the base of the moral character, experience leads me to infer, is fixed before their seventh year, the period during which women are allowed the sole management of children. Afterwards it too often happens that half the business of education is to correct, and very imperfectly is it done, if done hastily, the faults, which they would never have acquired if their mothers had had more understanding.

One striking instance of the folly of women must not be omitted. The manner in which they treat servants in the presence of children, permitting them to suppose, that they ought to wait on them, and bear their humors. A child should always be made to receive assistance from a man or woman as a favor ; and, as the first lesson of independence, they should practically be taught, by the example of their mother, not to require that personal attendance which it is an insult to humanity to require, when in health ; and instead of being led to assume airs of consequence, a sense of their own weakness should first make them feel the natural equality of man. Yet, how frequently have I indignantly

heard servants imperiously called to put children to bed, and sent away again and again, because master or miss hung about mamma, to stay a little longer. Thus made slavishly to attend the little idol, all those most disgusting humors were exhibited which characterize a spoiled child.

In short, speaking of the majority of mothers they leave their children entirely to the care of servants : or, because they are their children, treat them as if they were little demi-gods, though I have always observed, that the women who thus idolize their children, seldom show common humanity to servants, or feel the least tenderness for any children but their own.

It is, however, these exclusive affections, and an individual manner of seeing things, produced by ignorance, which keep women forever at a stand, with respect to improvement, and make many of them dedicate their lives to their children only to weaken their bodies and spoil their tempers, frustrating also any plan of education that a more rational father may adopt ; for unless a mother concurs, the father who restrains will ever be considered as a tyrant.

But, fulfilling the duties of a mother, a woman with a sound constitution, may still keep her person scrupulously neat, and assist to maintain her family, if necessary, or by reading and conversations with both sexes, indiscriminately, improve her mind. For nature has so wisely ordered things, that did women suckle their children, they would preserve their own health, and there would be such an interval between the birth of each child, that we should seldom see a house full of babes. And did they pursue a plan of conduct, and not waste their time in following the fashionable vagaries of dress, the management of their household and children need not shut them out from literature, nor prevent their attaching themselves to a science, with that steady eye which strengthens the mind, or practising one of the fine arts that cultivate the taste.

But, visiting to display finery, card playing, and balls, not to mention the idle bustle of morning trifling, draw women from their duty, to render them insignificant, to render them pleasing, according to the present acceptation of the word, to every man, but their husband. For a round of pleasures in which the affections are not exercised, cannot be said to improve the understanding, though it be erroneously called seeing the world : yet the heart is rendered cold and averse to duty, by such a senseless intercourse, which becomes necessary from habit, even when it has ceased to amuse.

But, till more equality be established in society, till ranks are confounded and women freed, we shall not see that dignified domestic happiness, the simple grandeur of which cannot be relished by ignorant or vitiated minds ; nor will the important task of education ever be properly begun till the person of a woman is no longer preferred to her mind. For it would be as wise to expect corn from tares, or figs from thistles, as that a foolish, ignorant woman should be a good mother.

SECTION VI.

It is not necessary to inform the sagacious reader, now I enter on my concluding reflections, that the discussion of this subject merely consists in opening a few simple principles, and clearing away the rubbish which obscured them. But, as all readers are not sagacious, I must be allowed to add some explanatory remarks to bring the subject home to reason—to that sluggish reason, which supinely takes opinions on

trust, and obstinately supports them to spare itself the labor of thinking.

Moralists have unanimously agreed, that unless virtue be nursed by liberty, it will never attain due strength—and what they say of man I extend to mankind, insisting, that in all cases morals must be fixed on immutable principles ; and that the being cannot be termed rational or virtuous, who obeys any authority but that of reason.

To render women truly useful members of society, I argue, that they should be led, by having their understandings cultivated on a large scale, to acquire a rational affection for their country, founded on knowledge, because it is obvious, that we are little interested about what we do not understand. And to render this general knowledge of due importance, I have endeavored to show that private duties are never properly fulfilled unless the understanding enlarges the heart ; and that public virtue is only an aggregate of private. But the distinctions established in society undermine both, by beating out the solid gold of virtue, till it becomes only the tinsel-covering of vice ; for, whilst wealth renders a man more respectable than virtue, wealth will be sought before virtue ; and, whilst women's persons are caressed, when a childish simper shows an absence of mind—the mind will lie fallow. Yet, true voluptuousness must proceed from the mind—for what can equal the sensations produced by mutual affection, supported by mutual respect ? What are the cold or feverish caresses of appetite, but sin embracing death, compared with the modest overflowings of a pure heart and exalted imagination ? Yes, let me tell the libertine of fancy, when he despises understanding in woman—that the mind, which he disregards, gives life to the enthusiastic affection from which rapture short lived as it is, alone can flow ! And that, without virtue, a sexual attachment must expire like a tallow candle in the socket, creating intolerable disgust. To prove this, I need only observe, that men who have wasted a great part of their lives with women, and with whom they have sought for pleasure with eager thirst, entertain the meanest opinion of the sex. Virtue, true refiner of joy ! if foolish men were to fright thee from earth, in order to give loose to all their appetites without a check—some sensual wight of taste would scale the heavens to invite thee back, to give a zest to pleasure !

That women at present are by ignorance rendered foolish or vicious, is, I think, not to be disputed ; and that the most salutary effects tending to improve mankind, might be expected from a revolution in female manners, appears at least, with face of probability, to rise out of the observation. For as marriage has been termed the parent of those endearing charities, which draw man from the brutal herd, the corrupting intercourse that wealth, idleness, and folly produce between the sexes, is more universally injurious to morality, than all the other vices of mankind collectively considered. To adulterous lust the most sacred duties are sacrificed, because, before marriage, men, by a promiscuous intimacy with women, learned to consider love as a selfish gratification—learned to separate it not only from esteem, but from the affection merely built on habit, which mixes a little humanity with it. Justice and friendship are also set at defiance, and that purity of taste is vitiated, which would naturally lead a man to relish an artless display of affection, rather than affected airs. But that noble simplicity of affection, which dares to appear un-

adorned, has few attractions for the libertine' though it be the charm, which, by cementing the matrimonial tie, secures to the pledges of a warmer passion the necessary parental attention; for children will never be properly educated till friendship subsists between parents. Virtue flies from a house divided against itself—and a whole legion of devils take up their residence there.

The affection of husbands and wives cannot be pure when they have so few sentiments in common, and when so little confidence is established at home, as must be the case when their pursuits are so different. That intimacy from which tenderness should flow, will not, cannot subsist between the vicious.

Contending therefore, that the sexual distinction, which men have so warmly insisted upon, is arbitrary, I have dwelt on an observation, that several sensible men, with whom I have conversed on the subject, allowed to be well founded; and it is simply this, that the little chastity to be found amongst men, and consequent disregard of modesty, tend to degrade both sexes; and further, that the modesty of women, characterized as such, will often be only the artful veil of wantonness, instead of being the natural reflection of purity, till modesty be universally respected.

From the tyranny of man, I firmly believe, the greater number of female follies proceed; and the cunuing, which, I allow, makes at present a part of their character, I likewise have repeatedly endeavored to prove, is produced by oppression.

Were not dissenters, for instance, a class of people, with strict truth characterized as cunning? And may I not lay some stress on this fact to prove, that when any power but reason curbs the free spirit of man, dissimulation is practised, and the various shifts of art are naturally called forth? Great attention to decorum, which was carried to a degree of scrupulosity, and all that puerile bustle about trifles and consequential solemnity, which Butler's caricature of a dissenter brings before the imagination, shaped their persons as well as their minds in the mould of prim littleness. I speak collectively, for I know how many ornaments to human nature have been enrolled amongst sectaries; yet, I assert, that the same narrow prejudice for their sect, which women have for their families, prevailed in the dissenting part of the community, however worthy in other respects; and also that the same timid prudence or headstrong efforts, often disgraced the exertions of both. Oppression thus formed many of the features of their character perfectly to coincide with that of the oppressed half of mankind; for is it not notorious, that dissenters were like women, fond of deliberating together, and asking advice of each other, till by a complication of little contrivances, some little end was brought about? A similar attention to preserve their reputation was conspicuous in the dissenting and female world, and was produced by a similar cause.

Asserting the rights which women in common with men ought to contend for, I have not attempted to extenuate their faults; but to prove them to be the natural consequence of their education and station in society. If so, it is reasonable to suppose, that they will change their character, and correct their vices and follies, when they are allowed to be free in a physical, moral, and civil sense.

Let woman share the rights, and she will emulate the virtues of man; for she must grow

more perfect when emancipated, or justify the authority that chains such a weak being to her duty. If the latter, it will be expedient to open a fresh trade with Russia for whips; a present which a father should always make to his son-in-law on his wedding day, that a husband may keep his whole family in order by the same means; and without any violation of justice reign, wielding his sceptre, sole master of his house, because he is the only being in it who has reason; the divine, indefeasible, earthly sovereignty breathed into man by the Master of the Universe. Allowing this position, women have not any inherent rights to claim, and by the same rule their duties vanish, for rights and duties are inseparable.

Be just, then, O ye men of understanding! and mark not more severely what women do amiss than the vicious tricks of the horse or the ass for whom ye provide provender; and allow her the privileges of ignorance, to whom ye deny the rights of reason, or ye will be worse than Egyptian taskmasters, expecting virtue where nature has not given understanding.

THE END.

ANNA ELIZABETH DICKINSON.

BY MRS. ELIZABETH CADY STANTON.

(Concluded.)

"From Eminent Women of the Age."

MISS ANNA DICKINSON'S LECTURE IN WASHINGTON.

Correspondence of the Evening Post.

WASHINGTON, Jan. 17, 1864.

MISS DICKINSON's lecture in the Hall of the House of Representatives, last night, was a gratifying success and a splendid personal triumph. She can hardly fail to regard it as the most flattering ovation—for such it was—of her life. Long before the hour designated in the newspapers for the commencement of the lecture, the hall was filled, the capacious galleries as well as the floor. Seats for five hundred persons had been arranged upon the floor, and the tickets—one dollar each—were sold by noon of Saturday.

A large number of Congressmen were present with their wives and daughters, and many of the leading men of the departments. Here and there an opposition member was visible, but so few in number as to make those who were present unpleasantly conspicuous. At precisely half-past seven Miss Dickinson came in, escorted by Vice-President Hamlin and Speaker Colfax. A platform had been built directly over the desk of the official reporters, and in front of the clerk's desk, from which the lecturer spoke. Mr. Hamlin sat upon her right and Mr. Colfax upon her left. She was greeted with loud cheers as she came in, and Mr. Hamlin introduced her to the select audience in a neat speech, in which he very happily compared her to the Maid of Orleans.

This scene was one which would evidently test severely the powers of a most accomplished orator, for the audience was not composed of the enthusiastic mass of the people, but rather of loungers, office-holders, orators, critics, and men of the world. But the fair speaker did not seem to be embarrassed in the least,—not even by the movements of a crazy man in the galleries, who carried a flag, which he waved over her head when she uttered any sentiment particularly stirring or eloquent.

At eight o'clock Mr. and Mrs. Lincoln came in, and not even the utterance of a fervid passage in the lecture could repress the enthusiasm of the audience. It was a somewhat amusing fact that just as the President entered the hall, she was criticising, with some sharpness, his Amnesty Proclamation and the Supreme Court; and the audience, as if feeling it to be their duty to applaud a just sentiment, even at the expense of courtesy, sustained the criticism with a round of deafening cheers. The crazy man in the gallery, as if electrified by the courage of the young woman, waved his flag to and fro with frantic delight. Mr. Lincoln sat meekly through it, not in the least displeased. Perhaps he knew that sweets were to come, but whether he did or not, they did come, for Miss Dickinson soon alluded to him and his course as

President, and nominated him as his own successor in 1865. The popularity of the President in Washington was duly attested by volleys of cheers.

The lecture itself was an eloquent one, and it was delivered very finely. Miss Dickinson has evidently made a most favorable impression upon Congress and the people of Washington. After the lecture was finished the audience called lustily for Mr. Lincoln to speak, but he edged his way out of the crowd to a side door, telling the Vice-President that he was too much embarrassed to speak; which statement, made known to the people present by Mr. Hamlin, caused much laughter. The "freedmen" will obtain over one thousand dollars as the solid result of the lecture; those present as hearers were delighted; and Miss Dickinson has the consolation of feeling not only that she has aided a good cause, but that she has achieved a fine personal triumph. B.

MISS DICKINSON'S LECTURE IN WASHINGTON.

At a meeting of the Executive Committee of the National Freedmen's Relief Society of the District of Columbia, held on the 26th of January, 1864, the following letter was read:

WASHINGTON, January 23, 1864.

Rev. W. H. Channing:

Sir: We have the honor to enclose herewith a draft for ten hundred and thirty dollars, being the proceeds of the lecture delivered by Miss Anna E. Dickinson, in the House of Representatives on Saturday evening, the 16th inst.

It is the special request of Miss Dickinson that this fund be appropriated for the benefit of the National Freedmen's Relief Society of the District of Columbia, of which you are the vice-president.

It was in response to an invitation of members of Congress that Miss Dickinson delivered her lecture at the Capitol. Her benevolence and patriotism evinced in this gift entitle her to the gratitude not only of those who are the recipients of her munificence, but of every lover of his country.

Very respectfully your obedient servants,

H. HAMLIN,

SCHUYLER COLFAX.

Immediately upon her return from Washington, she was invited by a large number of the leading citizens of Philadelphia to repeat her Washington address in the Academy of Music, to which she replied:

Messrs. Arch. Getty, Alex. G. Cittell, Thos. Allman, Edmund A. Souder, and others:

GENTLEMEN: I thank you heartily for the honor conferred on me by your most kind invitation, and for the added pleasure of receiving it from my own city of Philadelphia. I would name Wednesday, the 27th inst., as the time.

Truly yours,

ANNA E. DICKINSON.

Washington, D. C., January 20 1864.

The profound impression she made at Washington greatly heightened her rapidly increasing reputation, and she was urged to deliver that address both in New York and Boston.

In Boston, George Thompson, the eloquent English orator and member of Parliament, paid this beautiful tribute to her genius:

MY FRIENDS: If one unaccustomed to public speaking is ever placed in an embarrassing position, it is when he is called upon, as I am now, to address an audience that has been so charmed and highly excited by such eloquence as that which it has been your privilege and my privilege to listen to to-night. Shakespeare says, "As when some actor who has crossed the stage retires, the eye looks listlessly to see who follows next;" and so I come before you to-night. I have nothing to address to you to-night: nothing. I have been spell-bound. America, be proud of your daughter! Were she my country-woman, I should be proud of my country for her sake. Appreciate her, reward her by following her counsels. I must confess, long accustomed as I have been to public meetings, and hearing the best eloquence on either side of the Atlantic, and to hearing those who are esteemed our most gifted men in Parliament, I have listened to no speech which, for its pathos, its argument, its satire, its eloquence, its humor, its sarcasm, and its well-directed denunciations, has ever surpassed this. I pray God that the life of this lady may be spared, that she may see the desire of her heart in the unanimous adoption by her fellow-citizens of the great principles she has enunciated to-night. Give me America free from slavery. Give me America in which shall be established universally, as your lecturer has said to-night'

without distinction of clime, color, class, or condition, liberty for all, government by all and for all.

Her reputation was now thoroughly established, and during that winter she addressed lyceums nearly every night at a hundred dollars. "Chicago; or, the Last Ditch," was the title of the lecture she delivered in all our northern cities. In the spring she made a few campaign speeches in Connecticut. She used what influence she had to prevent the renomination of Mr. Lincoln; for she distrusted his plan of reconstruction, after an interview with him, in which he read to her his correspondence with General Banks, then military commander at New Orleans. She was convinced in that interview that in his policy he was looking to a re-election instead of maturing sound measures for reconstruction. During that presidential campaign, though she continually laid bare the record of the democratic party, the treason of its leaders and generals, and its want of loyalty during the war, yet she had no word of praise for Mr. Lincoln. She never took his name upon her lips, except to state facts of history, after the Baltimore Convention, until his death. She was invited to go to California during that campaign, and offered thousands of dollars if she would go there and speak for Mr. Lincoln; which she declined. At the opening of the lyceum course that fall, in consequence of her position with reference to the republican nominee, she had not a dozen invitations for the winter; but, as the season advanced, they began to come in as usual, showing that the committees had withheld them during the months preceding the election, hoping, no doubt, to awe her to silence on Mr. Lincoln. In 1865, she spoke in Philadelphia on the Lincoln monument, and cleared a thousand dollars, which she gave to Alexander Henry, the Mayor, to be appropriated for that purpose. On this occasion, she paid a beautiful tribute to the many virtues of our martyred President, delicately making no mention of his faults.

One of the most powerful and impressive appeals that she ever made was in the Convention of Southern Loyalists, held in Philadelphia in September, 1866. In this convention there was a division of opinion between the Border and the Gulf states. The latter wanted to incorporate "Negro Suffrage" in their platform, as that was the only means of success for the liberal party at the south. The former, manipulated by northern politicians, opposed that measure, lest it should defeat the republican party in the pending elections at the north. This stultification of principle, of radical public sentiment, stirred the soul of Anna, and she desired to speak in the convention. But a rule that none but delegates should be allowed that privilege prevented her. However, as the southern men had never heard a woman in public, and felt great curiosity to hear her, they adjourned the convention, resolved themselves into a committee of the whole, and invited her to address them. The following sketch from an eye-witness will give some idea of the effect she produced on southern men:

A GOOD-NATURED VIEW

Of some matters in and about the Convention is given in the following spicy letter of James Redpath to the *Boston Traveller*:

PHILADELPHIA, Sept. 7.

THE ADDRESS OF ANNA E. DICKINSON.

My last dispatch from the Convention predicted that the border statesmen would receive a lecture from Anna Dickinson, and stated that they acted as if they had anticipated it. This prediction was formed from the appearance of the Maryland delegation, and a knowledge of the character of the orator; and it was fulfilled.

It was curious to note the audience. There sat, directly in front of the platform, three or four hundred southern men, few of whom had ever heard a woman speak,—few of whom could debate, when antagonistic views were advanced, without the grossest personal vituperation.

Their ideal of controversial oratory was with them, and sitting at the right hand of the young maiden as she stepped forward to deliver a speech as denunciatory as ever he uttered, but as free from offensive personal allusions as any oration can be. It was Brownlow, the bitterest and foulest-tongued man in the south. On her left side sat John Minor Botts, with his lips tightly compressed, and his face telling plainly that he remained there from courtesy, but would remain a patient listener to the speech.

She began; and for the first time since it met, the Convention was so still that the faintest whisper could be heard. She had not spoken long before she declared that Maryland had no business in the Convention, but ought to have been with the delegates who came to welcome. There was vehement applause from the border states.

"That is a direct insult!" shouted a delegate from Maryland.

She went on without regarding these coarse interruptions, reviewing the conduct of the border states with scorn, and talking, with an eloquence I never heard equalled in any previous effort, in favor of an open, hearty, manly declaration of the real opinion of Convention for justice to the colored loyalist, not in the courts only, but at the ballot-box.

There was none of the flippancy or pertness which sometimes disfigures her public speeches. It was her noblest style throughout,—bold but tender, and often so pathetic that she brought tears to every eye. Every word came through her heart, and it went right to the hearts of all. Kentucky and Maryland now listened as eagerly as Georgia and Alabama.

Brownlow's iron features and Botts's rigid face soon relaxed, and tears stood in the old Virginian's eyes more than once, while the noble Tennessean moved his place, and gazed at the inspired girl with an interest and wonderment which no other orator had brought to the fanatic's hard face.

She had the audience in hand as easily as a mother holds her child; and, like the child, this audience heard her heart beat. It was ennobled thereby. It was really a marvellous speech. The fullest report of it would not do it justice, because the greatness lay in its manner and its effect, as well as in its argument.

When she finished, one after another southern delegate came forward, and pinned on her dress the badges of their states, until she wore the gifts of Alabama, Missouri, Tennessee, Texas, Florida, Louisiana, and Maryland.

There have been many speculations in public and private as to the authorship of Anna Dickinson's speeches. They have been attributed to Wendell Phillips, Charles Sumner, George W. Curtis, and Judge Kelley. Those who know Anna's conversational power, who have felt the magnetism of her words and manners, and the pulsations of her generous heart, who have heard her impromptu replies when assailed, see at once that her speeches are the natural outgrowth of herself, her own experience and philosophy, inspired by the eventful times in which she lived.

As well ask if Joan of Arc drew her inspiration from the warriors of her day. It was no man's wish or will that Anna Dickinson uttered the highest thought in American politics in this crisis of our nation's history; that she pointed out the cause and remedy of the war, and unveiled treason in the army and the White House. While, in the camp and hospital, she spoke words of tenderness and love to the sick and dying, she did not hesitate to rebuke the incapacity and iniquity of those in high places. She was among the first to distrust McClellan and Lincoln, and in a lecture entitled "My Policy" to unveil his successor, Andrew Johnson, to the people. She saw the sceptre of power grasped by the party of freedom, and the first gun fired at Sumter, in defence of slavery. She saw the dawn of the glorious day of emancipation, when four million American slaves were set free,

and that night of gloom, when the darkest page in American history was written in the blood of its chief. She saw our armies go forth to battle, the youth, the promise, the hope of the nation,—two million strong,—and saw them return, with their ranks thinned and broken, their flags tattered and stained, the maimed, halt, and blind, the weary and worn; and this, she said, is the price of liberty. Through the nation's agony was this girl born into a knowledge of her power; and she drew her inspiration from the great events of her day. Her heroic courage, indomitable will, brilliant imagination, religious earnestness, and prophetic forecast, gave her an utterance that no man's thought could paint or inspire.

WOMAN'S OCCUPATIONS.

Editors of the Revolution:

How many women are living comparatively useless lives that might, under the right kind of circumstances, be filling posts of honor and usefulness, with profit to themselves and to others, whose best energies and greatest thought are now wasted on fashion and frivolities? Some time since, I attended a procession of the G. A. R.'s, and in the vast concourse of people collected there, two hired kitchen girls were the finest dressed women in the crowd. One of them had a trunk, which alone cost fifty dollars. Now when it comes to this, in the free republic of America, where liberty and progress should be the watchword and rallying cry of all; when it comes to women's being so destitute of a true object in life, that even girls who are compelled to do kitchen drudgery in order to earn a livelihood, will take of their small but hard-earned pittance, and invest as much as two hundred dollars in one dress and fifty dollars in a trunk, who can say there is no need of a change in the programme for woman? Young women, to you, in all candor, I would say, spend not your few hard-earned dollars in extravagant dress. Better take those dollars and buy books—biographies, histories, encyclopedias and the best works on science, and devote the extra amount of time devoted to dress and the decoration of your persons to the careful reading and studying of these works, and see whether in the future this course will not yield you a richer harvest. Husband your means to aid you in educating yourselves—either in commerce, mechanism, the arts or sciences. Or mayhap you may need your means with which to secure a spot of God's green earth, on which to erect a home of your own, to be enshrined amid affectionate hearts and decorated by the hands of loved ones. A home which you may surround with fruits and flowers and all the other objects of beauty, utility and independence. A home where you may have a competence, live a life of independence, read and study if you like, and live in peace and quiet till all the sands of life are run. And what is more and better than all, is, the noble example you would set to your sex. Thousands of them are wavering in dependent positions, just waiting for the stimulus of example to arouse them to action and show them what to do. None of us are conscious, or ever can be, of the powerful influence that we are capable of exerting, either for good or ill, over the life and actions for others.

As it regards wealthy women, who spend their thousands each year for costly garments and rare and costly jewelry, what hollow hearts and barren souls they must have? What multitudes

of humble and worthy poor these thousands, rightly expended, might comfortably house, feed and clothe. If all could have rich and beautiful garments to wear, a proper amount of luxuries and plain food to eat and palace homes to live in, I think it would have a good and refining influence on both the mind and manners of the community. But better far, that all have comfortable clothes, plain, wholesome food, and comfortable homes, than that some wear costly apparel, feast on luxuries and live in palaces; while others, who are just as good, are doomed to go in beggarly garments, have but a meagre supply of the plainest of food, and live in loathsome and unhealthful dwellings—in cellars, garrets and all sorts of miserable hovels. For my part, I can never be favorable to any practice which does not tend to an equal distribution of all the luxuries and necessities of life among all the sons and daughters of our Father, God.

MOLLIE PORTER.

GEN. COLE AND HESTER VAUGHAN.

Editors of the Revolution:

BEFORE me lies a paper, the *Sunday Times* of Dec. 13th, containing articles referring to two trials that have been decided in the courts within the last few months. The first of a man who deliberately, intentionally, and in cold blood shot his wife's seducer; he is acquitted on the ground of insanity. The other of a woman who alone and unattended gave birth to a child, which, forty-eight hours afterwards, is found dead, and she is convicted, upon the weakest of circumstantial evidence, of murder in the first degree.

I have nothing to say against the decision of the court, in the first instance, even though, as the article referred to states, "It is folly to suppose that the plea of insanity was anything more than a legal cover under which the jury could shield from punishment the man who had done just what they felt a man ought to do, and was expected to do, when wronged in this heinous manner." I am glad when anyone is rescued, on any plea, whatever, from that relic of barbarism—the scaffold; but where is the justice, or the *semblance* of justice, in convicting her and acquitting him; he had done the deed, shot another in cold blood, no proof was wanting to establish this fact, but the provocation being deemed sufficient to justify the act, the jury cover it with the plea of insanity, and pronounce him innocent. I deny that there is any evidence strong enough to convict Hester Vaughan of the murder of her child, but if there were, should it be called a murder? Is the man to be forgiven who, through a mistaken idea of revenging the dishonor of his family, shoots another, and no sympathy be extended to a woman who kills a child, the fruit of an outrage perpetrated upon her—a perpetual reminder of her misery and shame? What future could be in store for either? Lives branded by the names prostitute and bastard! Suppose the maternal heart, blinded and warped through love for the child, hatred of its origin, despair of the future; suppose, I say, it had, madly and mistakenly, taken the life of its infant—is that murder? Let not the jury that acquitted Gen. Cole dare to answer in the affirmative.

Men can feel for the wrongs of a man, but only women can feel for woman; let her be tried by a jury of her peers, wives and mothers, women who, while knowing the depth and purity of maternal love, know also of the agony

that almost robs them of reason when ushering a new life into the world; women who pray for death rather than dishonor, feeling through sympathy the bitterness of shame. Let women defend woman, let them be her judge, then and only then can justice be done, that sublimest justice that is tempered with *charity*.

Yours, etc., E. M. C.

WORKING WOMEN'S ASSOCIATION.

THE following Report was presented at the Working Women's Association, Dec. 21, 1868, by Mrs. S. F. Norton:

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON RAG-PICKERS.

In the investigation of the condition, habits, labor and earnings of the Rag-Pickers of New York, your committee have expended considerable time, visiting the class of laborers under consideration, wherever they could be found; becoming acquainted with their mode of living and working, the results that are accomplished solely through their agency, the effect their business has—when clearly and nearly seen—upon the general well-being of society.

The subject, in all its bearings, covers a much wider range than was at first supposed; and while the knowledge of your committee has been increasing, the interest has also grown in a commensurate degree. The duty, therefore, has brought its own compensation; and although the facts presented may not exhaust the subject, it is believed they will throw a new, if not surprising, light upon a class who are never rightly esteemed, but, on the contrary, are systematically avoided and treated with contempt.

Hundreds of rag-pickers have been visited at their homes; they have been under observation at almost all hours of the day; they have been watched through the streets, while engaged in gathering bits of paper out of the gutter, and raking up the concealed wealth of rubbish barrels; they have been followed until the contents of their bags and baskets have changed owners, and then the trifles they pick up have been traced through all the stages of transformation to their final uses.

In making a report upon the result of this investigation, your committee will deal with the rag-pickers as a class; and the facts that have been gathered by observation and experience will be briefly presented with such general conclusions as seem to be warrantable.

Your committee, therefore, wish it to be borne in mind that they are dealing with averages, and that the best and worst they have seen will, if stated at all, be used merely for the purpose of giving a correct and adequate notion of the rag-pickers of New York.

The mere collection and sale of rags form but a part of the business of the rag-pickers.

The rag-picker not only puts all refuse of this kind into his bag or basket, but is also very careful to pick up every bone, every bit of broken glass or old iron, every old boot or shoe and scrap of leather, and every bit of coal or other material which may be available as fuel.

After having filled his bag and his basket, and very often his hat and pockets with such articles as he may have gathered in his daily rounds, he goes to his home, assorts his wares, and, if possible, makes another round; usually, however, one such search suffices for twenty-four hours.

The labor of the rag-picker begins very early in the morning, generally about three or four o'clock. Not unfrequently, however,

they, some of them, make their rounds in the middle of the night, starting at ten o'clock. In the afternoon, by one or two o'clock, he reaches home, and begins the work of assorting the material he has gathered during the forenoon. The different articles are placed in separate receptacles, where they accumulate until called for by the dealer or manufacturer. The prices paid to the rag-picker are as follows: For paper and rags three cents a pound; for bones, scraps of bread, meat and other bits of garbage, fifty cents a bushel. Bits of leather and old boots and shoes have no specific price, but are sold for what can be bargained for and are used as fuel.

Scraps of iron are sold for prices that vary according to the general law of supply and demand.

The rag-pickers of New York earn from forty cents a day to ten dollars per week.

In this as in every trade or occupation there are grades of workmen, and the earnings mentioned above show the too extremes—the best class compelling their avocations to pay them as much as any other ordinary labor; the worst living from hand to mouth upon what they can pick up without much work or great inconvenience.

The resentment of any infringement upon each others "right of way," and the jealousy of superior ability or good fortune, create dissension and hatred among this class of people in as great a degree as among the so-called better classes, whom we hitherto thought held the exclusive patent for those questionable talents.

A large majority of the rag-pickers of New York are Germans, who, having landed here poor, were compelled to do something for a livelihood, and accepted this as a last resort, rather than starvation or dependence. Your committee found a small colony of this class in Willett street, consisting of 106 families, and comprising 452 persons. These people live in clean, comfortable homes, send their children to school, put money in the savings bank, and at the first opportunity leave the trade and migrate to the farms of the West.

There is another colony of rag-pickers nearly equal in number, west of the Central Park, who live in shanties; but these seem to have no ambition beyond providing for the necessities of the day.

These two colonies comprise the larger part of the rag-pickers of the city, although others were found isolated from their companions in the business, in various parts of the downtown streets.

From the best evidence your committee has been able to gather, the number of rag-pickers in New York city is about 1,200 of all grades, a little more than one half being women. This is the only business, we believe, where women have equal opportunities with men.

It would be interesting to trace the refuse upon which the rag-picker lives, to its final uses, but your committee will not attempt to do even partial justice to this branch of the subject. The old rags and paper find their way through the junk-dealers to the paper manufacturer, and finally return to the breakfast-table in the shape of the daily newspaper.

The old bones—some of them—which the rag-picker rescues from the garbage box are transformed into parasol handles—or were before wooden handles became fashionable because bones were scarce, and consequently expensive. They are also made into tooth-brushes, buttons and various other articles of trade.

The bits of broken glass are worked up by the glass manufacturers and returned in new forms to those who cast them into the streets.

The scraps of old iron follow the same general course, and since panniers have come to be worn and the Grecian bend has become a fashionable epidemic, it is not beyond the bounds of probability that the bits of old iron the rag-pickers gather in the street find their way from the gutter to the boudoir.

As in any other human occupation the earnings of the rag-pickers depend mainly on their own industry and thrift, but somewhat also on what they call "full barrels." But behind even these circumstances, a law is at work which not only controls the rag-picker but ramifies every department of trade; and when applied to the state or nation, instead of a single class of workers, is found to form the basis of political economy, and to control the accumulation and distribution of wealth. The distance seems to be great between the rag-picker and the Wall Street gold gambler, but your Committee has found more than one instance in which the same person has occupied both positions; and in one case both avocations were filled at the same time—the one occupying one portion, the other another portion of the same day. By the one, our rag-picker earned an honest livelihood; by the other, it is to be feared he turned a very dishonest penny.

It suggests, however, that in trade there is but one law, and that the bone-picker and the broker, the mendicant and the millionaire, are alike amenable to that nature which produces, controls, and finally destroys us all.

The rag-picker refuses nothing. Others' refuse; he only accepts. He is a "picker up of unconsidered trifles." Nothing is small or worthless to him. He sees life, a home, children, schools, a farm in the west, in the dim perspective, and all the health, hope, and happiness of his life lie about him represented in the refuse of the world. Millions of dollars escape him in the search he makes, and he knows it. He regrets it, perhaps, as who would not? but he saves from the general wreck what he can.

Nothing to him is mean or filthy, save that which he cannot find; nothing is too small for his notice; nothing unworthy his attention, though it be a bone gnawed by the cur in the street, or the bit of paper that flits by him on the wings of the wind. Sneer at him as we may, he dignifies labor by his industry, his economy and his independence; and is a living peripatetic sermon from the text which teaches us to despise not the day of small things. In the last analysis he is the saviour of society without which there would be a wreck of matter and a crush of worlds.

Your committee having received no instructions from the Association as to the special duties they were called upon to perform, and having herewith presented such facts and suggestions as seem capable of the widest application, as well as to possess the greatest interest, now ask to be relieved of any farther consideration of the subject.

Respectfully submitted, in behalf of the Committee,

SARAH F. NORTON.

JOANNA KOERTEN BLOCK was an artist of singular kind; she was born at Amsterdam in 1650 and died in 1715. She excelled in cutting landscapes, sea-pieces, flowers and even portraits out of paper, with the most perfect resemblance to nature. Her productions sold at enormous prices, and she was patroned by several sovereigns.

HENRY JAMES ON WOMAN'S WORK.

MR. JAMES has read an Essay before the Woman's Club in Boston. According to a correspondent of the New York Evening Post, his theme was the "Historic Significance of Woman," which he treated somewhat in manner following:

We all of us habitually accept without misgiving the strange logical contrast which announces itself between woman in the abstract and woman in the concrete; that is, between woman and women, just as we do that between man and men. We say to ourselves that there is something in woman more than in all women, just as there is more in man than in all men. In these words all women taken together do not, to our imagination, constitute woman just as all men taken together do not constitute man. On the contrary, we instinctively feel that the more we multiply men and women, the further away we get from the great realities they severally represent; just as by multiplying a man's wives you deny and deride his conjugalitv. In short, the word women, like the word men, has a strictly spiritualizing or individualizing force, while the word woman, like the word man, has a strictly material or universalizing one. Both man and woman are infinite or perfect, while men and women are both alike finite or imperfect; and you cannot attain to the perfect or infinite by intensifying the finite or imperfect but only by deserting them altogether.

Man, as sexually contradistinguished from woman, expresses the descent of the creative love to created form, and all men accordingly are so many reflected or derivative forms, each in his degree, of this divine descent or degradation. But the creative love descends to created manifestation, only that the creative may, in its turn, be elevated to fellowship with the infinite; and woman, as contradistinguished from man, expresses this ascent of the human to the divine nature. In a word, man constitutes that downward movement of the creative providence which results in what we call the world or nature; and woman constitutes that upward or return movement of the creative providence which issues in what we call history or the church.

Thus I hold that woman symbolizes only what is private, sacred, divine in our experience, whilst man symbolizes what is public, secular or merely human.

Woman has always been identified with the home life of the world; and home means peace, means freedom, means heaven to the distracted human heart; while man's activity has relegated him to the outlying world, which means conflict, means slavery, means hell to all our divinest instincts. Home has been the sole citadel hitherto of true society or fellowship on the earth, where all persons—plain and distinguished, strong and weak, wise and simple, good and evil, just and unjust—dwell together under the same unquestioning Providence, and practically ignore for the time the unhappy and unhandsome divisions bred of the necessities of church and state. And if home has always been home mainly by the sanctifying presence of woman, we may say without any hesitation that she is the guardian angel of our associated destiny, and will ere long vindicate to the vulgar observation her title to that supremacy.

Mr. James expounded these theories in six different forms with that affluence of illustration and vigor of language which distinguish every effort of his genius.

Coming to the practical application of them, he said:

If I do not greatly misinterpret history, women are destined henceforth to be a leading and no longer a servile force in human affairs. But then that issue will take place only by their becoming more and more feminine and less and less masculine. If women were themselves as sagacious as men are to discern their inbred and overflowing divinity of nature, they would do the best to enhance rather than obscure every evidence of that merely intellectual inequality of theirs with men which, while it ensures man's priority in mere worldly, material or professional respects, leaves woman herself sacred with the halo of every distinctively spiritual or personal charm.

Men's professional activity has been of immense service, doubtless, to the progress of civilization; but the legitimate prestige thus attaching to it is now fast deserting it. Citizenship, to the illustration of which all our professional activity is directed, and which means the regime of outward law or force in human affairs, is a low conception of human destiny, when measured against society or fellowship, which means the regime of inward freedom or attraction. And if this is so, and no thoughtful person will say me nay, how untimely an aspiration it would be on the part of women to enlist in the professions! I think it an excessively shabby thing on the part of men to keep up any of the statutory disabilities

that continue to stigmatize women's free activity or debar them from any civic, any political or any professional franchise they may choose to covet.

This pusillanimity on men's part grows, to some extent, out of the essentially low conception of human destiny which has hitherto prevailed upon the earth, and which has left men blind to the divine side of our nature, but to a great extent out of the instinctive dread men feel of women becoming like themselves. Men know to the marrow of their bones how consistent the greatest civic, political, or professional eminence is with the most arrant meanness and poltroonery in all human regards; and when women threaten to become parsons, and attorneys, and politicians, they naturally enough fear that all that still sanctifies humanity is going by the board. I have no doubt the fear is honest, but I believe it to be altogether chimerical. For assuredly woman's future will never belie her past.

If they have been womanly in the past, they will be vastly more so in the future, when their emancipation from the tyranny of man will leave their instincts free to assert themselves. I have no fear that women, save in very small squads, will ever flock to the polls, for their bare admission to equality with men, in this juncture, will evince so improved an honesty on the part of men that we may be sure rival parties will, above all things, take care in so constructing their platforms that the feminine interest and honor be amply avouched.

And, as to men's professional activity, I have no idea that women can ever be induced, save in exceptional instances, to dispute its honors and awards. Now that medicine is becoming so highly empirical and so little dogmatic, so much a matter of hygiene and gymnastics, I have no doubt it will offer for some time to come an attractive industry to many women. * * *

Men are kept fresh and sweet from age to age exclusively by the fact that women are women and are not men; just as the lungs are maintained in health and vigor only by the wholly distinctive play of the heart, in its persistent refusal to invade the lungs. If women, then, should ever consent in any considerable way to turn themselves into doleful parsons, into quibbling attorneys, into evasive and cunning politicians, what hope would be left for us miserable men?

I say naturally enough, for women feel themselves instinctively to be born helpers of men; and so long, therefore, as men will not allow themselves to be helped out of their imbecility, women enough will be found to help them in it. Eve would never have listened to the tempter but with a view to brighten up her poor, dear, old Adam; and the folly of her daughters invariably betrays a like affectionate inspiration. Mrs. Jefferson Jones would be the very last person to exceed her own sphere and invade her husband's parchments or pulpit or stump appointments, did not Mr. Jefferson do his job in a notoriously imbecile and hopeless manner. Women are providentially destined, it is true, to help men. But what celestial help would it yield human life to swell the ranks of our decaying professions? What is gradually undermining the professions is the fact of their being all vitalized by a sheer despair of human nature. The clergyman believes in the existence of hopelessly discordant relations between man and God: the lawyer in the existence of hopelessly discordant relations between man and his fellow; the physician in the existence of hopelessly vicious relations between man and his own body, or nature. What help, then, could woman bring to the professions?

For all her legitimate activity proceeds upon, and hence irresistibly invites, harmonic relations between man and God, man and nature, man and man. Authority, routine, outward law, of whatever sort, which is the life of the professions, is not and cannot be the inspiration of woman, but at the risk of defiling all that is womanly about her. At all events good mother Eve was sired by no such incubus and no true daughter of Eve would ever hesitate between the inspirations of her inward affection and the obligations of outward prudence, unless she were fairly crushed, as now, out of all distinctive character by the dead weight of her own particular Adam. I have small doubt, accordingly, that if we men should once manfully resolve to effect that famous Northwest passage from the Straits of Monkeydom into the broad, clear seas of manhood, which is the deathless aspiration of the race, woman would instantly shed the parson, the attorney and the politician, as the tree sheds its withered leaves, to become a truer woman and prouder wife than she had ever been before, and be acknowledged at last, the mother of an incorruptible manhood. J. B.

WHERE God makes no distinction of sex in His demand upon mankind, His creatures should not make distinctions.—Gail Hamilton.

The Revolution.

ELIZABETH CADY STANTON, } Editors.
PARKER PILLSBURY,

SUSAN B. ANTHONY, Proprietor.

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CLOSE OF THE VOLUME.

Not alone of "THE REVOLUTION," but of the year. The one thousand eight hundred and sixty-eighth volume of Christian Grace, closed up and given to the eternities, with its record of thought, purpose, word and action. It will seem to occupy a little space, a hair's breadth stratum in the great time formation, but will soon disappear as have other equal periods in the past. As in ancient tombs, coffin after coffin has been deposited, one upon another, until the lower have long since disappeared, crushed with their sacred contents into the invisible, as well as the souls they once carried, so the dead years lie sepulchred one upon another, with all they bore, until enumeration of them was long, long ago lost forever; the geological formations being their only Recorders, and these also, after reporting indefinite myriads of ages, abandon the problem as beyond all human possibilities of solution. Eternity sheds the years as leaves. Each autumn leaf, falling, adds itself to the circumference of the globe. Each year contributes its atom to the infinite duration. What is a human life, even though reaching across a century? All the telescopes of archangels could not measure the heights and deeps of space. So no compounded microscopic lens could reveal the littleness of the life of man, told in boastful scores and tens. Only when he is lifted out of the material up into the empyrean of the great unknown, and paralleled with the Eternal does his sublime worth and importance appear. Thus exalted, he is before all worlds, outshines and shall survive all suns and stars.

"THE REVOLUTION," as an integral part of the newspaper press of the country, is a very little thing; a single leaf from the grand banyan that overshadows the land. But its spirit and word, like the leaves of the "Tree of Life," are for the healing of the nation. It stands alone in the nation in its demand for equal, impartial justice and freedom, with no discriminations or distinctions on account of race, complexion or sex, as a basis of reconstruction. Whatever it may yield in other directions, it is immovable as the great Corinthian columns of the Universe here; at the same time, believing in some degree of educational fitness to elect, as well as to be elected.

"THE REVOLUTION" is now one year old. But let the world forget its infant utterances if it can. It found the nation, in its government, commerce, trade, literature, religion, everything, almost everywhere, wholly indifferent to the rights, wrongs, or responsibilities of woman. The nation was still at a year after year attempt to reconstruct itself, on the old false, prescriptive basis of *white male citizenship*. Those who demanded more, were branded and blasted as *radicals*, a term more odious than its loathsome antithesis "copperheads." But even radicalism, its very tap root did not reach down to woman. Honorable Senators, the most radicals, studiously avoided to speak the word

woman, when presenting petitions in her behalf. While they sought to rescue the colored *man* from the government distinction of "rebels, criminals, paupers, lunatics and idiots," they persisted in still shutting woman up with these ignominious or unfortunate classes.

The Woman's Rights Association of America, active and efficient for a number of years before the war of the rebellion, consented to sink its claims, and almost its very life, in that fearful struggle to preserve the nation. The rebellion suppressed, and the slave emancipated, the Woman's Rights Association revived its operations, and appealed to the abolitionists, with whom they had generally co-operated in the cause of the slaves, to combine the two enterprises, and make a united and persistent demand for the right of suffrage, in the reconstruction, irrespective of race, color or sex, in the name of justice and humanity, and according to the laws of the living God.

But for reasons never yet understood, every overture was declined by a few leading members of the Anti-Slavery Society, though in sufficient numbers and influence to overrule the action of the rest. Every attempt to obtain the use of an outside page of the *Anti-Slavery Standard* to be devoted exclusively to the cause of suffrage, *not for woman alone* but for the disfranchised negro as well, was most pertinaciously refused.

Then Mrs. Lucy Stone, with a zeal and perseverance that know no weariness, no rest, appealed to the wealthy abolitionists and others, East and West, to aid her and her husband in establishing a newspaper, to be under their exclusive control. This effort, so eminently important, and so wisely conceived, also failed in its object, and no such medium of communication could be opened with the public.

Out of this dire extremity "THE REVOLUTION" was born.

Of its success hitherto, perhaps it may not become this editor to speak. It may be said, however, that no public journal ever achieved such a moral success before, in so short a time. Soon after its inauguration, its proprietor visited Washington, and obtained the subscription and secured the sympathy also of a large number of government officials, including the president and members of both houses of Congress. Its effect on Congress was soon manifest; and before the session closed, we were cheered by the assurance that more than one-third of the members in both houses were in favor of our demand.

Since that time, what have we not seen to strengthen and cheer? Our correspondence reaches to and through both hemispheres. Many excellent letters, and reports, too, of large public bodies, convened in behalf of woman's right to the elective franchise, have been received from foreign countries, and, as our readers know, have been translated and published in our columns. Of the cause in Great Britain we need not speak. Our inestimable Manchester correspondent will report rapid advance, from that quarter, where work is so well begun and is in hands so invincible as are theirs.

But in our own country the success of our enterprise is indeed wondrous to behold. The press at first was indifferent, or worse, religious, literary, political, pictorial, with comparatively few exceptions. We supplied the whole six thousand public journals of the land with our first numbers, and as they read and became better acquainted with us, they began to treat us at least with courtesy and respect. And now

there are but very few of any worth or weight at all, that are not at least very kindly disposed to "THE REVOLUTION," and also the demand for suffrage it makes. Even the democratic journals that have not done venting their rage and curses on the head of the poor, unoffending negro, are many of them favorable to Woman's Suffrage, and some of the most popular and powerful papers of that party, are foremost in our support. The *Anti-Slavery Standard* too has taken the true ground, and with it doubtless all the abolitionists are secured.

The pulpit too has disappo inted us, of all the elements we have encountered, most agreeably, most joyfully. Remembering the reluctance with which it received the doctrines and measures of the abolitionists, we were prepared for a more stern resistance from that quarter than hitherto we have met. Many of its very ablest and noblest occupants are in the van by our side.

What we have done and are doing among the people, we need not repeat to those who have read our reports of the grand state Woman's Suffrage Conventions held and still holding in the different states. The visit of the proprietor and senior Editor of "THE REVOLUTION" to the new and enterprising little city of Vineland in New Jersey, procuring, among other good results, about fifty subscribers to their paper, prepared the way admirably for the subsequent meeting of the state society there, which was every way and all ways, a success.

A much larger and more powerful Convention had already been held in Boston. Next little Rhode Island was visited, and on the testimony of many competent eye and ear witnesses, no such popular gathering ever graced and honored the City of Providence before. Week before last a convention, scarcely second to any of the preceding, was held in the capital of the Granite state. Its spirited proceedings will be noted more fully, hereafter.

More similar Conventions are to follow in other states.

In these Conventions it is pleasant to observe the names of so many of the old veterans in the Anti-Slavery warfare, still valiant for the right. Besides Lucy Stone and her husband, Mr. Blackwell, Stephen S. Foster (and Mrs. Foster, too, almost raised from the dead to comfortable health), Rev. Samuel May, Frederick Douglass and Charles Lenox Remond were at Boston, and some of them at other places. Mr. Garrison too in Boston and also at Concord, N. H., gave full proof that there is divine fire yet in his eye and might in his arm.

In Congress, too, our work is well begun. Hon. Henry Wilson has led off in the Senate, after Hon. George W. Julian had bravely opened the encounter in the House, demanding an amendment to the Constitution that shall extend suffrage equally to every citizen, "without any distinction or discrimination whatever, founded on race, color or sex."

Even the Lyceum Lecturers now draw their sublimest inspirations from this fruitful source. Not only are Anna Dickinson, Curtis and Tilton eloquent as ever in its behalf, but Olive Logan and Madame Audouard are its champions. Wendell Phillips has learned that this is more than the negro's hour. Even Horace Greeley, this season, finds no other theme in such demand or pays so well. Indeed the triumph of woman is secure. It is scarcely even a question of time.

Under circumstances so auspicious, how can

we but thank God and take courage? The work is but pastime now, compared with what it was when the pioneers opened the way, and trod the rough and thorny mazes with bloody feet.

The work of the past year is a succession of victories. Some of our best friends are alarmed at their success. They were expecting more serious oppositions of various kinds. They were even prepared for mobs and violence. They deemed those almost needful as assurances that they were true to their high trust. But had they read our hundreds of weekly exchanges, including many of the most influential journals in the land, from Madawaska to San Francisco, they would have thought far otherwise.

The truth is, the ballot is ready and waits woman's acceptance. Let her bravely and trustfully go forward and take possession of her own. "THE REVOLUTION" has been watched by eyes not unaccustomed to observe the signs of the times, and it is safe to declare that since the art of printing was discovered, no journal of whatever description ever wrought such wondrous and such truly glorious changes in a single year.

P. P.

THE OLD YEAR IS GONE

FAREWELL to the old year. Its days, one by one, have come and gone; the influence of each soul is registered on the horoscope of time. Words fitly spoken, deeds well done, live forever; folly and vice leave no trace behind.

With this number we close our first year, and as we sit alone, in retrospection, turning over the pages of "THE REVOLUTION," leaf by leaf, we smile and weep, are satisfied and reproached by turns, feeling as we do each night, when, in its silent hours, we review the day, glad if we have done aught to cheer the sad, encourage the struggling, or restrain the wayward, and sorry if by a heedless word or act we have added one pang to any human heart, one jarring note to the world's discordant strain of misery.

Though our paper, like our life, has been marred with shortcomings here and there, we hope the world is better that we both have lived.

With the opening of the New Year, "THE REVOLUTION" celebrates its first birthday. As it is now a hale and hearty child and is welcomed and praised by the press of both continents, we may as well confess that when it came into the world with such a startling cry of defiance and prophecy, and received its bloody baptismal name, "THE REVOLUTION," with such an erratic world-known and abhorred god-father as George Francis Train, and was given to our care and keeping, it was not without grave fears and distrust of our wisdom and capacity that we undertook the management of what we clearly saw was destined to be a wayward, willful sprite.

Notwithstanding our inexperience in journalism (having been a mere satellite of the dinner pot and the cradle all our days) kind friends in all latitudes and longitudes write us most flattering praises of the success of "THE REVOLUTION."

We began without a subscriber, soon reached thousands, and our list has steadily increased to this hour, each month bringing more than the preceding and extending to more distant points. Our paper goes into every state from Maine to California, to England, Ireland, Scotland, France, Switzerland, Germany and Russia.

"THE REVOLUTION," all tell us, meets a want

that no other paper does, and to fill this niche is our highest ambition.

There are plenty of journals to advocate science, politics, theology, agriculture and amusements; plenty devoted to elegant extracts, to prose, verse, polite literature, art, dillitanti morals, fashions and customs; papers that studiously avoid all "vexed questions;" "too deep for popular thought before which the great and wise stand trembling and appalled;" plenty of papers to tell the people what they are pleased to hear. "THE REVOLUTION," as its name indicates comes to tell the people what they ought to know; not to *reflect*, but to *make*, public sentiment. It is our purpose to show the causes and remedies of ignorance, poverty, misery and crime; to stir the Stygian pools of human woe and degradation to their lowest depths; and to exalt the glory of the "three fine arts" as Ruskin calls them, "how to feed, and clothe, and house the poor."

With a deeper study of the science of government, of political economy and finance, we see it is not the ballot alone that woman needs for her safety and protection, but a revolution in our political, religious and social systems; in fact the entire reorganization of society. Such being our policy, the names of distinguished men and women who write only for money and popularity will not be found in our columns, which in the future as in the past will be kept sacred for the earnest words of voluntary contributors who have no other outlet for their advanced thoughts.

While we do not desire to shock the old Fathers Lindley Murray, Blair and Hedge, we prefer the deep soul experiences of struggling men and women to literary merit or high sounding names; we prefer to discuss the rights and wrongs of the down-trodden masses to the artistic conceptions, gorgeous drapings and undefined longings of the few.

In our political opinions, we have been grossly misunderstood and misrepresented. There never was a time, even in the re-election of Lincoln, when to differ with the leading party was considered more inane and treasonable. Because we made a higher demand than either republicans or abolitionists, they in self defence revenged themselves by calling us democrats; just as the church at the time of its apathy on the slavery question revenged the goadings of abolitionists by calling them "infidels." If claiming the right of suffrage for every citizen, male and female, black and white, a platform far above that occupied by republicans or abolitionists to-day, is to be a democrat, then we glory in the name, but we have not so understood the policy of modern democracy. That this charge of the republicans had no foundation in their own brains even, is evidenced by the haste they are now making in Congress and their journals all over the country to follow our lead.

Though "THE REVOLUTION" and its founders may have been open to criticism in many respects, all admit that we have galvanized the people to life, and slumbering friends to action on this question.

In closing, we urge our readers to renew their subscriptions and to do all in their power to extend the circulation of "THE REVOLUTION," and thus help to secure the elevation of the race, through the enfranchisement of woman.

E. C. S.

As the best of us are unfit to die, what an inexpressible absurdity to put the worst of us to death.—Hawthorne,

ROLL UP THE PETITIONS.

LET the women all over the country roll up their petitions for Suffrage, and diligently ply Congress with them throughout the session. Send them directly to Mr. Julian of Ohio, as he is the boldest advocate of Woman's Suffrage in Washington, and has already presented a resolution asking that the Constitution be so amended as to secure the right of suffrage to all citizens irrespective of sex or color. Let us keep Mr. Julian busy presenting petitions. We sincerely hope they will be poured in on him from the east, the west, the north and the south, so that he will be compelled to rise in his place every day with long petitions from earnest women. No matter whether they are long or short, whether signed by a dozen or one hundred, keep them going, that our champion may feel that those whom he so nobly represents are alive and in action. This is not simply a question of right, but one of solemn duty; for unless we can arouse the slumbering virtue of the womanhood of this nation, the moral element in human nature, and bring this new influence to bear in our public affairs, our nation is doomed to destruction.

While men are debating the probable effect of *woman* in politics, they have proved *themselves* unworthy of all the trust and confidence reposed in them, for, on their own showing, every department of government, the administrative, the legislative, and the judicial are alike steeped in bribery and corruption.

And for all this there is only one remedy, and that is, for woman to go down into these "muddy pools," like the angels of other days, with healing in her wings, to trouble and purify the waters, round about.

In view of the demoralized condition of public sentiment on all questions, the tangled state of our national affairs, our enormous debt, and heavy taxation, the scarcity of money, the depression and poverty of the people, our sorrow and anxiety for the future of this nation is only equalled by our surprise at the assumption and self-complacency of those men who tell educated, moral, thinking women, to stay in their own sphere, which is home, and leave all public matters in their hands.

What will homes be when our country is desolated, justice sold in the market-place, and iniquity baptized at the sacred altars, in the name of God?

E. C. S.

HENRY WARD BEECHER.

THE thanks of every man and woman in the nation are due to Henry Ward Beecher for his brave attack on the Judiciary system, the Judges, Justices, and Courts of New York city, for their open bribery and corruption. Let every one who has not already, read his able sermon, delivered a few weeks since in Plymouth church, and his admirable letter in the *N. Y. Times*, December 19th, showing the rottenness of every branch of our government. A certain Mr. Wheeler Peckham has undertaken to defend the New York Judges against Mr. Beecher's attack. But his is a hopeless task, because every Judge on the bench, every justice, sheriff and lawyer in our courts knows that what Mr. Beecher says is too true. His quotations from the *North American Review* of July, 1867, in which the degraded and demoralized condition of our courts are set forth, should galvanize every American into new virtue and soberness.

The downfall of every nation in the past can

be readily traced to the corruption of the people, and unless by some mighty power this increasing tide of immorality be stayed, we shall share the fate of all the governments that have gone before us.

Every mother who has a son practicing in our courts is specially interested in having these stygian pools raked to the very bottom. The morals and religion of the family altar are soon discarded in the outer world of falsehood, bribery and corruption, as romance or the sickly sentimentalism of woman's nature. The daughters of the Pilgrims have a work to do in clearing up this great wilderness of life, where so many of our best and bravest sons have stumbled and gone down. In closing his letter Mr. Beecher says :

We have just finished one battle for the life of the republic. Another one lies right before us. It is the battle of Mammon. Capital rightly employed is civilizing and beneficent. As a corruptor it is almost omnipotent. Already our government is assailed by it. If a new administration can find no remedy, and things go on as they have, the end is at hand. The purse will outweigh the Constitution. The lobby will control the public policy. If not arrested Mammon will soon be mightier than President, Senate and Representative!

Is it for citizens to sit calmly by, without a cry or protest, and see one thing after another swept away by this yellow stream that beats against Congress, Legislature, and the Judiciary, and threatens to undermine them?

E. C. S.

HENRY JAMES ON WOMAN.

We publish an extract from a speech of Henry James, before the Boston Sorosis, in another column, to which we would call the attention of our readers, as it points out so clearly and beautifully the exalted position and mission of the true woman.

With Mr. James's first assertion we fully agree—that of true manhood and womanhood we know but little, and of the latter nothing whatever, for it has scarce been recognized as an element of power until within the last century. The male element has held high carnival thus far, it has fairly run riot from the beginning, overpowering the feminine everywhere, crushing out all the diviner elements in human nature.

Our creeds, our codes, our customs are but the reflections of man himself untempered by woman's love; the hard, iron rule, we feel alike in the church, the state and the home. No one need wonder at the disorganization of society, at the fragmentary condition of everything, when we remember that man, who represents but half a complete being, with half an idea on every subject, has undertaken to arrange the universe in his own way.

People object to the demands of those they choose to call the "strong-minded," because they say, it will make the women "masculine." That is just the difficulty in which we are now involved, we have no women in the best sense, we have simply so many reflections and varieties of the masculine gender.

Men profess to have great fear lest women should become men, yet they are always ridiculing the womanly wherever they find it. With what contempt they speak of "woman's way." In fact what they seem to desire in the sex is a lower order of subservient, obedient men. Every woman that observes at all knows that she makes the men about her happy, just in proportion as she reflects their opinions and feelings, and is charitable towards their vices. They prefer that woman in the abstract shall be religious, but they do not wish her to mourn over their sins, they prefer that woman shall

not smoke or chew or snuff, but they do not wish her to be nauseated with the odor of the bitter weed when they approach her.

This world would be a dreary wilderness to a pure-minded, loving, trusting woman; to keep her foothold here she must be as near like man as possible, reflect his virtues, his vices, his motives and prejudices. She must respect his statutes though they strip her of every inalienable right, and conflict with that "higher law" written on her soul by the finger of God. She must believe his theology, though it pave the highways of hell with the skulls of new-born infants, and make God a monster of vengeance and hypocrisy. She must look at everything in its dollar and cent point of view, or she is a mere romancer. She must accept things as they are and make the best of them; to mourn over the miseries of others, the poverty of the poor, their hardships in jails, prisons, asylums, the horrors of war, cruelty and brutality in every form, all this would be sentimentalizing.

To object to the intrigue, bribery and corruption of public life, to desire that her sons might follow some business that did not involve lying, cheating, and a hard, grinding selfishness would be arrant nonsense. In this way men have been slowly moulding women to their ideas, and the better nature of both sexes has been subordinate to the lower. And to-day man stands appalled at the results of his own excess, and mourns in bitterness that falsehood, selfishness and violence are the law of life. Our daily journals are filled with murders, wives killing husbands, husbands wives, sons fathers, daughters mothers! Infanticide, homicide, poison, seduction, rape, arson, gatrotting, bribery and corruption meet the eye at every turn. The manly forces balanced by womanly forces would be the glory of the race; but either in excess is crime and evil, one ending in violence, the other in license, and both in death. What we need to-day is a new evangel of womanhood, and whoever does ought to restore woman to her lost throne, will help to usher in the new day of peace and rest for the race.

It was long supposed that woman had no soul, thought, or spiritual discernment, hence she was forbidden to read or write; but when in the progress of events she did put her foot into the world of letters, though she came on tip-toe, apologetically, as if to say, "I beg your pardon, gentlemen, for this intrusion on your time-honored exclusiveness," how the arrows of ridicule, of spite and spleen did fly around her ears, how grave and reverend seigneurs did council together of the danger of permitting woman one whiff of air outside the home sphere, how the holy Fathers, the statesmen, the poets, the philosophers, the men of letters, did rush to meet the invaders of what they had supposed to be their undisputed realm. With what haste and power they forged and hurled that ancient thunderbolt "blue stocking," carrying such wide-spread terror to every aspiring woman's soul and goose quill, and falling with the same paralyzing influence on all the sex, as has the modern Parrott gun "strong-minded" on the women of our times. But woman skilfully dodged the arrows, and quickly hid herself in labyrinthian windings that defied pursuit and wrote on.

And lo! what a change she wrought in literature, refining, elevating, spiritualizing every subject she touched.

As soon as woman began to read and think and write, such men as Feilding, Rousseau, Swift and Smollet went out of fashion, and were them-

selves the target for the poisoned arrows they had prepared for her.

Mr. James objects to women as "preachers and lawyers." He says :

But I confess that divinity and law seem to me a sheer horror in association with the feminine name. I cannot but believe that women will content themselves in the future as in the past with being "doers of the word," and leave preaching to us pusillanimous sots who have rendered it eternally tiresome and ineffectual. No person, were it the angel Gabriel himself, can rescue the preaching institution from the discredit into which it has fallen; and one may be reasonably sure that it would never have been providentially betrayed to such a fall unless its great uses had been fully accomplished, and men were ripe for a more spiritual ministry. How absurd, then, for any one to expect that women should undertake the ungracious task. It is degrading to a woman to preach or argue because these functions are essentially combative; and it is her prerogative to conquer without combat. *Veni, vidi, vici* is the rightful device of her spotless shield alone, and Cæsar appropriated it only through a strong effort of identification for the moment with Cornelia. I am sure that no genuine flesh and blood man would even listen to a woman's ministry but with condescension; and that is the very last homage the womanly instinct craves.

Mr. James must have been taking a Rip Van Winkle nap not to know that whole congregations of men do listen to the ministry of women with pleasure and profit. At least we suppose they are flesh and blood men as they eat, drink, and have purses out of which they pay these ministering women, who marry, baptize, bury the dead, administer the Communion, preach, pray, tell the choir what to sing, and by the laying on of hands, ordain men. With the motto *Veni, vidi, vici* on their spotless shield, why not conquer theology and law as well as medicine and literature. Please remember that with women all things are possible. In entering the field of theology, they will not probably trouble themselves much about "the conflict of the ages," "the origin of evil," or any of the gloomy dogmas generated in a dyspeptic male brain, but believing in the expulsive power of a new affection, by cultivating a love of the good and true they will try to banish evil and falsehood from the earth, they will open the hearts of men and let the sun of love shine on the old theologies until their darkness and gloom are changed to light and rejoicing.

And law, too, can be rescued from its present disrepute. Shakspeare shows us in his Portia how woman could dignify the court and exalt justice. The law in its highest uses is a sublime science. The study of equity, that nice point in social relations where the limits of ones rights, happiness and development ends, lest it infringe on that of another; just where the individual must be protected against society, and society against the individual, or better still how to secure that harmony, in the working of sound laws, that no such thing as sacrifice will be necessary, all this is a study worthy noble men and women.

They who educate our moral and spiritual natures, and teach us justice and honor in our dealings with one another, must be the highest types of manhood and womanhood combined.

When butchers and bar-keepers, violence, rum and tobacco preside in our courts, when sectarianism, ignorance, gall and dyspepsia teach in our pulpits, law and theology must be defamed and degraded, but when woman enters the professions, she will do for them what she has already done for the literature of the age in which we live; for the true woman must elevate and ennoble whatever she touches, and beautify every path in which she walks.

The reader will see that Mr. James falls into

the common error that men and women are fitted for different spheres, instead of different duties in the same sphere.

The professions in the future will be as much improved by woman's thought, as the home is to be simplified and systematized by the scientific skill and arrangement of man's best thought. Every woman, mother, housekeeper, feels there is always a screw loose in the household arrangements. We need more of man's thought there to organize, methodize, more of his inventive genius directed towards the every day conveniences of life, to lessen labor, and throw some new light on the stubborn elements of fire and water, that woman's soul need not be so sorely vexed with ranges and water pipes, with ovens, drafts and leakages that she never will understand, for the mass of women hate iron facts, rules and machinery. For our part, we would rather write a sermon or a brief every day than make a coal fire in a range and keep it going twenty-four hours. As Mr. James says "woman is an inspirational being, opposed to routine, authority, outward law," hence the need of man ever by her side to catch her inspirations and give them form and force, and his need of her lest his routine authority, outward law, degenerate into cold abstractions, for want of the glow which her inspirations could give him.

E. C. S.

MR. DISRAELI ON WOMAN.

As long ago as April, 1866, Mr. Disraeli, in a speech in Parliament, made the following admissions on the right of woman to enfranchisement:

I observe that in a recent debate, in another place and country, some ridicule was occasioned by a gentleman advocating the rights of the other sex to the suffrage. But as far as mere abstract is concerned, I should like to see anybody in this House who is a follower of the Hon. gentleman get up and oppose that claim. I say, that in a country governed by a woman; where you allow women to form part of the other estate of the realm, Peeresses in their own right; where you allow a woman not only to hold land, but to be a Lady of the Manor and hold legal courts; where a woman by law may be Church Warden and Overseer of the poor; I do not see, where she has so much to do with state and church, on what reasons, if you come to right, she has not a right to vote.

JUSTICE TO WOMEN.—The workingmen of Boston had a grand demonstration recently in Faneuil Hall, at which among other resolutions the following was adopted:

Resolved, That our long cherished purpose of securing the Eight Hour System for all laborers and mechanics employed by the city of Boston, and our proposition that the city government shall pay women employees as much as men for the same quality and quantity of service, we now enforce by presenting candidates for Mayor, Aldermen and other city offices; and when these measures have been voted we shall call for others in their order until all that is proper for a city has been done to secure a more equal distribution of wealth.

The Boston workingmen now hold the balance of power, and, if wise in their action, can soon control the city government.

ZION'S HERALD.—It has been our purpose to cultivate kindly relations, *as far as possible*, with the religious press of the country, and have generally succeeded up to our highest expectation. We paid Zion's Herald great respect, and thought for a time it deserved it. The last number, however, we regret to say, has wholly changed our mind, by opening our eyes. For uns crupulous, reckless audacity of false state-

ment, there is no parallel to it among the hundreds of exchanges of almost every description which make their daily or weekly calls on "THE REVOLUTION."

HEARTH AND HOME.

WITH the New Year we are glad to see several new papers starting to advocate a broader sphere for woman.

They all look a little shy at Suffrage for Woman, but they must come to it at last if they desire her elevation, for it needs but little consideration to see that political degradation must affect the social status of any class of citizens. We devoted our Christmas to reading *Hearth and Home*, Harriet Beecher Stowe's new paper, published by Pettengill and Bates, 37 Park Row, New York. We read her "Thanksgiving at old Town" aloud to a dear friend who had come to spend with us a quiet day in the country.

Her description of the place, the people and their doings is so graphic that we were at once transported to the old town. We could see the kitchen with its generous oven, the large cold parlor, the personages who figured on that grand occasion, the busy preparations for the dinner, the weary children and anxious matrons through a long sermon in the cold church, the feast, the evening dance, and the prompt closing of the festivities at nine o'clock.

If the whole story is as good as this opening chapter everybody will desire to take the *Hearth and Home*.

Then we read Mrs. Kate Hunnibee's diary, how she made biscuit, starch, a hanging lamp, frosted cake and browned potatoes. Reading along we occasionally glanced at our handsome friend, seated in a blue easy chair, with her rich dress and cap and scarlet shawl, knitting a little blue stocking, for a favorite boy, and we saw that she listened with a pleased, complacent air, until we reached Dec. 17th and read Mrs. Hunnibee's receipt for taking care of a sick baby, when my Homoeopathic friend suddenly dropped her knitting and exclaimed with great emotion, Shades of Hahnemann forgive! in what period of the Heptarchy did Mrs. Kate Hunnibee live? She could not believe her ears, so she seized the paper and read:

December 17th.—How tender these babies are! This afternoon I perceived mine had some cold on her lungs, for she began to cough and breathe badly. Immediately I gave her ten drops of syrup of ipecac, which is a dose for a baby three months old, then immersed her feet in water as hot as she could bear it, for ten or fifteen minutes, and then wrapped round her little body over the lungs a mild mustard-plaster, which was suffered to remain four or five minutes, till the skin was quite red. This treatment gave immediate relief, and has the sanction of the highest medical authority in America. It must be repeated every three hours, omitting the mustard, unless she should seem worse. I did not put on an oil silk shirt, but should do so if the attack were very severe.

Ten drops of ipecac a dose for a baby three months old! It is enough to convulse a strong man in the prime of life; hot water and mustard-plasters, pshaw! An oil silk shirt; worse and worse; what becomes of the insensible perspiration. "Highest medical authority," bah! On such authority, we have held the noses of children and forced down their throats castor oil, epsom salts, sulphur, quinine, paragoric, calomel and jalap until the teeth and bones of a greater part of the human family are as soft as chalk. We hailed these new papers that were to treat of home matters with the greatest satisfaction, feeling that we could devote "THE REVOLUTION" to watching our representatives at Wash-

ington, and affairs generally in the outside world, but if the innocents are to be treated in this way we shall be compelled after all to watch the *Hearth and Home* as well as the church and state.

E. C. S.

OUR HELPERS.

In closing the year, we would not forget to thank the many noble men and women who have volunteered to roll up for us long lists of subscribers. Among them we would make special mention of Mrs. O. A. Roberts, Oregon; Laura De Force Gordon, Nevada; Charles W. Tappan, Elizabeth M. Tiebout, Mrs. S. J. Walhs, Mrs. E. T. Schenck, Mrs. E. P. Thorndike, California; Mrs. J. C. Savery, Iowa; Mrs. Frances Minor, Mrs. M. H. Brinkerhoff, Mrs. R. B. Fischer, Missouri; Mrs. R. S. Tenny, Mrs. H. A. Starrett, Kansas; Pauline J. Roberts, Wisconsin; Sarah Ferris, Rhoda Munger, M. L. Daniels, Michigan; Mrs. H. F. M. Brown, Mrs. Ann L. Barnet, Mrs. M. P. Codding, Illinois; Mrs. A. L. Quimby, H. B. Smith, A. J. Higgins, M.D., Ohio; Mrs. Kingsbury, Mrs. W. Samson, New Jersey; M. A. Thompson, Sarah Pugh, Susan A. Smith, M.D., Dr. James Catlin, Pennsylvania; Mrs. Juha A. Holmes, Washington, D. C.; Mrs. S. G. Hammond, M. E. Gage, P. M. Kelsey, New York; Josie R. Tilton, Maria S. Page, Massachusetts. And at the head of these stands Mr. Tappan, of San Francisco, upon whom, some time since, we conferred the high office of General Agent for all the States and Territories west of the Rocky Mountains. But thanks to all alike who have labored for the cause of Woman and the success of "THE REVOLUTION." We hope the coming year will find all our old friends and thousands of new ones equally active, bringing to us still other new friends and helpers; for "the harvest is white and the laborers few." Let none be deterred from doing something because they feel it would be so little. To enthron "THE REVOLUTION" in but one family may rouse some noble woman to life and action that would tell upon her children and children's children through all time. Let every well-wisher of the good work remember that

"One accent of the Holy Ghost
The heedless world hath never lost."

S. B. A.

LECTURE ON WOMAN AND HER RIGHTS.

In response to an invitation from the Bloomingdale Lyceum, Miss Susan B. Anthony addressed a large audience at the hall of the Lyceum, Bloomingdale Road and 100th street, last Friday evening. The auditory was composed of ladies and gentlemen, and was at once refined, attentive and discriminating. The subject of female suffrage has been on two or three occasions lately debated by the members of the Lyceum, and so much has really been said in favor of it that more than ordinary interest has been awakened in regard to the justice of the claim, and setting aside the courtesy which a cultivated audience always evinces towards a lecturer, it was evident that there were gentlemen present whose gallantry was ably supported by their ability to completely crush out any argument in opposition to the claims of the gentler sex.

Dr. T. Mansen, President, occupied the chair and introduced

Miss Anthony, who, after a few prefatory remarks, in which she said she was going to speak of "women, their work and their pay gener-

ally," proceeded to discuss the question of woman's present position as a member of the community at large, but particularly referring to the large proportion of women who work for their maintenance.

At the close of Miss Anthony's address, in the course of which she was frequently applauded, a vote of thanks was unanimously tendered. Debate by the audience was then invited by the President.—*Evening Telegram.*

MRS. BRINKERHOFF.

A WESTERN paper says, "We have heard many of the popular lecturers of the day, among them Anna E. Dickinson. We can only say to her, while you are at the head of the class you must now make room for another.

"We bespeak for Mrs. B., as a popular lecturer, a brilliant future. She, in company with Mrs. Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Miss Susan B. Anthony and Miss Olympia Brown, made a canvass of the State of Kansas last year, in favor of Female Suffrage.

"Mrs. B. is young and has just entered the field as a lecturer. We understand that her first experience was in Kansas last fall. She is modest and lady-like in her deportment, earnest and candid in her reasoning, interesting and entertaining as a speaker.

"The Tipton *Advertiser* says she is no mean disciple of Anna E. Dickinson. We regard her not as Miss Dickinson's disciple, but as her equal. She displays more talent than many popular lecturers, who, because of their reputation, not only draw large audiences, but receive large pay."

OLIVE LOGAN.

On the Evening of Dec. 15th, this accomplished woman delivered a lecture in Steinway Hall for the benefit of St Peter's Sunday School. Our space does not permit us to give any report of the lecture, though its merits would fully warrant us in so doing. Her subject, "Paris, City of Luxury," gave her abundant scope for the power of sketching scenes, and portraying types of character in which she excels. Her description of the Empress on skates was exceedingly ludicrous and mirth provoking, while her beautiful and apt allusions to our lamented Lincoln brought tears into many eyes. Miss Logan's experience upon the stage is a great help to her as a speaker, while at the same time her manner has very little of the theatrical in it. We are pleased to say she defined her position upon the Suffrage question in a measure most creditable to herself as a clear-sighted, sensible woman, contending that the day of woman's Emancipation only waited for the time when American intelligence should demand it. "The right of woman to vote," said she, "will come as surely as American institutions endure and American intelligence speaks."

A LITTLE BOASTFUL.—Our friend of the Yates County *Chronicle* is not given to over much boasting, and so we believe he means to speak truly in what he says about that "new sanctum." But then he has never seen the new rooms of "THE REVOLUTION." Whether his office is "unparalleled in general appearance, coziness and comfort," or not, his paper, we are glad to know, shrinks from no encounter with the powers of darkness; and the equal rights of all, without distinction of race or sex, are alike sacred in its sight.

THE CHURCH OUR WORST OPPOSITION.

THE Springfield (Mass.) *Republican* remembering, doubtless, the past, concludes that the popular church organizations will present the most formidable opposition to the extension of Suffrage to Woman. Our own observation and experience, both running through thirty years of anti-slavery conflict, lead us to conclude that the church and pulpit will at least keep pace with the press and people. If we can be sure of the Springfield *Republican* and the republican party respectability generally, we are sure of everything else. Here is what the *Republican* says on the question :

The strongest and most persistent opposition to Woman Suffrage is to come from the Christian church. The clergy, with rare exceptions, follow the lead of the apostle Paul on this subject, and, although they will not undertake to vindicate the soundness of the apostle's logic, they will maintain his opinions and insist strongly that if woman is not inferior to man, she is at least unlike him and naturally incapable of governmental and public life. And the women of the church, in all the old and "respectable" sects, at least, will assent at once to the dicta of the clergy. In the new sects just struggling for life, and the liberal sects, which cannot even get recognition as Christian by the large majority of the Christian world, the tendency will be to welcome the women to public service, as we see already in the ministry of some of the sects generally labeled heretical. Equal political rights involve equality in the government and service of the church, and it is obvious that a hard battle is to be fought among the polemics before the churches will accept without limitation the idea that in Christ there is "neither male nor female," but all are "one," or equal in power and privilege. And this conflict will be the more strenuous because to concede the equality of woman will seem to involve a denial of the infallibility of the writers of the Bible. The champions of Woman Suffrage may as well understand and prepare for this contest, for it must certainly come, and almost before they know it, they may find themselves denounced and socially proscribed as infidels.

THE GRECIAN BEND.

Editors of the Revolution :

A FEW ideas suggested by Dr. Boynton's lecture last Saturday evening, Dec. 19th, have become so irrepressible that I beg a small space in your columns for their expression. Passing over the earlier geological portions of the lecture I come at once to my theme, which is the *live reptile* that was placed under the magnifying glass for our inspection. No sooner had this creature begun to move than I was seized with the idea that he and his family were the sources of inspiration whence the ugly dances in Offenbach's Operas are drawn. True enough, I am one of the few persons in this city, who have never seen a *bona fide* representation of one of these Operas. But what of that, good "REVOLUTION?" neither you nor I can go to a theatre, concert, party, nay even church, nor walk the streets, and escape the contagion of Offenbach's music the baneful influence of which is over all the land. This man's soul has been compared to a dirty sponge which, sucking up the clear water of other men's genius, emits it again befouled with his own imagination, not having even the merit of originality.

Accompanying such music are *suitable* words and motions (dances, so-called) the latter for all the world like those of the above named *reptile*. And let me advise all admirers of this new entertainment styled "Opera Bouffe," and its imitations, "Ixion," "Humpty Dumpty," etc., to go and witness Dr. Boynton's illustrations, that they may see the very close resemblance and entire correspondence of the "Reptilia" to the moral ooze and slime and filth of the "Gre-

cian Bend" the "Schneider Wriggle" and the "Can-can."

MARY WOLLSTONECRAFT.—We close to-day the truly wondrous Work of this remarkable person of almost a hundred years ago, on the Rights of Woman. Emerson says of Plato, "he makes sad work of our originalities." So Mary Wollstonecraft anticipated almost every argument of to-day for the Rights of Woman. Readers of "THE REVOLUTION" will better appreciate the value of the volume, when told that it is wholly out of print, and has long been out of the market. We were only able after long and careful search to find two copies, the price of which was two dollars each. In this one work then, our readers have the full value of their year's subscription; what indeed they could not at present have in any other way, for any amount of money. A beautiful and correct likeness of the author is for sale at this office.

AN Exchange says :

Henniker, N. H., has a manufactory of mackerel kits which turns out fifty thousand yearly. A cord of pine wood makes a hundred kits, and a cord of ash will turn hoop for six thousand.

And Henniker, N. H., as this editor is competent to affirm, has a wealth of water power and other material, that might make it the very first town in the state. Besides, it possesses a beauty and variety of scenery that should make it one of the most attractive resorts for summer residence in New England; and it is, moreover, the very worst town for doctors and undertakers that can be found, as all who ever tried to live there will testify. And being of easy access by railroad, explorers will discover it sometime, and make their fortunes by it. And the fortunes of the people living there also, if they will only let them.

THE PEOPLE AHEAD.—We have often asserted that the people are, and always have been, more ready than their leaders for new advances. The legislature in Massachusetts shamefully snubbed the whole Woman question last winter. It never was done more meanly by any legislative body in the civilized world. But the towns have since, in several instances, taken the business into their own hands, law or no law, and have elected women on their School Committees; and the Executive has even appointed them to important positions on the Boards of the State Charities.

LECTURES ON COOKERY.—Miss Julia Colman, Professor of the Philosophy of Food in the Dixon Institute, Brooklyn (corner of DeKalb and Adelphi), will deliver a course of six lectures on the agreeable preparation of *wholesome food* in the reception rooms of the Institute at 3 p.m. of Jan. 6th, 8th, 11th, 13th, 15th and 18th. Those who desire a "sound mind in a sound body" will hardly fail to profit by her criticisms, recipes and instructions.

THE WORKING WOMEN'S ASSOCIATION.—The next regular meeting will be held in room 18, Cooper Institute, Friday evening, January 8th, 1869, at 7½ o'clock.

W. S. TAYLOR, of Berlin, N. Y., has a Wheeler & Wilson Sewing Machine (No. 289) that has done nearly \$5,000 worth of stitching during the past sixteen years, and is now in perfect working order.

LITERARY.

THE CATHOLIC WORLD. A Monthly Magazine of general Literature and Science. New York: The Catholic Publishing House, 126 Nassau street. Five dollars a year in advance.

The Roman Catholic Church is to be congratulated on the possession of such an organ, exponent and defender as the *World*. Second in mechanical execution to none in the city, it is otherwise conducted with candor, fairness and certainly with powerful ability. The article on Galileo in the January number is an attempt to refute the commonly entertained opinions on the controversy between the great astronomer and the Church of his day. We have not had time to study up the argument with the historic references, but from what appears, there seems good reason for a review of the case on the part of the Protestant defenders of the fair name and fame of Galileo. He has ever been considered a victim of a bigoted and blind religious faith, determined to stigmatize the progress of science as some barbarous nations fancy they save the sun in eclipse, by shouting to drive off the obscurity.

Another long article in the January number is a review of Dr. Ewer's *Four Discourses on "Protestantism a Failure,"* in which a rather successful effort is made to show that the only ark of safety for troubled spirits like that of Dr. Ewer, who still cling to organized forms and faiths, is in the Catholic Communion. The *World* says of such:

"The spirit is working in them to bring them to light and life. They are not against us, and to some extent are with us. We would, for their sakes, they were wholly with us; and we never cease to pray God that they may find the haven of security and rest it has pleased him that we should find for ourselves. We once were one of their number, thought and felt with them, struggled with them, and we can have for them only words of encouragement and hope. In what we have said we have had only the desire to assist them to find and understand the One Holy Catholic Apostolic Church."

PACKARD'S MONTHLY—The Young Men's Magazine.

The January number is an improvement on the past year in several important respects; one in particular. It is no more quarto but octavo. In general tone and character, it was well before. Probably no magazine is more sure of being read, and none surely will better repay reading. That it may have a Happy New Year, we wish it many new paying subscribers.

YOUNG AMERICA FOR JANUARY.

There is said to be a great hurrah among the children when YOUNG AMERICA arrives. Its stories, its puzzles, its pictures, possess an irresistible attraction, and induce lots of boys and girls to beg at bed-time for just "half an hour more." The January number is the third issued since the enlargement, and is one of the most interesting and attractive that has been published. Publication Office, 838 Broadway, N. Y., at \$1.50 yearly.

DOCTOR JACOB. By M. Betham Edwards.

A very pretty book of 375 pages, duodecimo, which we notice without having thoroughly read. Two things, however, speak well for it; it is a German tale, and is published by the Roberts Brothers, 143 Washington street, Boston.

THE COMPLETE PHONOGRAPHER. By James E. Munson. Oakley, Mason & Co., 21 Murray street, New York.

A complete exposition of the principles of Phonography, affording the fullest instruction to those who have not the assistance of an oral teacher.

A WOMAN'S PHILOSOPHY OF WOMEN. By Madame D'Huncourt. Carleton, Publisher.

An admirable treatise on the affranchisement of women, intended as "a refutation of the coarse indecency of Proudhon, and of the perfumed prurience of Michellet, and the other false friends, and would-be champions of woman." We recommend its careful perusal to every person interested in the cause of humanity.

THE PHRENOLOGICAL JOURNAL for January contains Reverdy Johnson as a Diplomat; Napoleon Bonaparte, his character and genius; T. S. Arthur; Church, Bierstadt, Gifford, Page, Huntington, and six other eminent American Artists; Peculiarities of American Faces; Dietetic Habits of Great men; Radical Types and Peculiarities as illustrated in the Lives of Great Men; Phrenology of Abraham and his Wife; The New Year; How the Doctors appreciate Phrenology; Thirteen Varieties of Dogs, etc., etc., with fine Portraits and Illus.

trations. Price 30 cents, or \$3 a year. New Volume just begun. Address S. R. Wells, 349 Broadway, N. Y.

TYPOGRAPHIC MESSENGER. One Dollar per annum, in advance. James Conner's Sons, publishers, Nos. 28 and 32 Centre street, N. Y.

Financial Department.

FINANCIAL AND COMMERCIAL.—*America versus Europe—Gold, like our Cotton, FOR SALE. Greenbacks for Money. An American System of Finance. American Products and Labor Free. Open doors to Artisans and Immigrants. Atlantic and Pacific Oceans for AMERICAN Steamships and Shipping. New York the Financial Centre of the World. Wall Street emancipated from Bank of England, or American Cash for American Bills. The Credit Foncier and Credit Mobilier System, or Capital Mobilized to Resuscitate the South and our Mining Interests, and to People the Country from Ocean to Ocean, from Omaha to San Francisco. More organized Labor, more Cotton, more Gold and Silver Bullion to sell foreigners at the highest prices. Ten millions of Naturalized Citizens DEMAND. A PENNY OCEAN POSTAGE, to Strengthen the Brotherhood of Labor, and keep bright the chain of friendship between them and their Father Land.*

THE REVOLUTION.

VOL. II.—NO. 26.

FLUCTUATIONS OF THE RATE OF INTEREST.

Editors of the *Revolution*:

EDWARD KELLOGG's Monetary System is deserving of all the commendations given it in your paper of Nov. 12th. (This is the only copy of "THE REVOLUTION" I have ever seen.)

Mr. Kellogg is the most thorough of all American writers on finance; he shows conclusively that the European Systems though well adapted to transfer earnings from the pockets of the people to the coffers of kings, are ill adapted to a republic in which each citizen should have equal rights with every other.

The fact is, nothing should be allowed to circulate as money, except what is legal to pay debts with. All inflations and contractions of credits, and extreme fluctuations of interest are directly traceable to unjust laws. For instance, in England, from the year 1704 to the year 1813 inclusive a term of a hundred and forty years, there were only sixteen changes of interest in the Bank of England, and the rate never went below four, nor above six per cent. Then (against the protest of the directors) it was enacted, Act. VII, Victoria, Chap. 32d, Sec. IV, that after Aug. 1st, 1844, "All persons shall be entitled to demand from the issue department of the Bank of England notes in exchange for gold bullion, at the rate of £3 10s 9d per oz. of standard gold." The directly traceable effect of this law was, that from 1844 to 1863 inclusive, a term of twenty years, there were ninety-three changes of interest, and the rate fluctuated from 2 to 10 per cent. Since then the fluctuations have been worse, and the disastrous panic of 1866, from which England has not yet fully recovered, was caused by a redundant currency and the speculations naturally consequent thereon. Austria, Italy, and the United States had abandoned gold as a basis of their currency. As gold accumulated in Eng-

land, the system induced an expansion of bills, producing a redundant currency and the accompanying speculation, a resultant panic and the present distrust.

The great Napoleon hit the nail on the head when he said, in substance, that the proper business of a bank was to lend money at four per cent. The system he inaugurated was a principal cause of the steady interest at the Bank of France, which has never, since 1804, fluctuated more than three per cent., unless quite recently.

There have indeed been panics in England, about once in ten years or so; say in 1784, 1793, 1810, 1819, 1826, 1837, 1847, 1857 and 1866. The early panics, before 1844, were not caused nearly as much by the credits or the bills issued from the Bank of England as they were by the reckless business of the country banks.

The contraction of loans by the New York city banks, amounting to thirty-five millions of dollars, between the 11th of July last and the middle of November, caused the recent panic, although it was aggravated by the additional impetus given to it by the "Erie" operators. During the same time, in Boston and Philadelphia, there was no contraction of loans, and of course no panic.

The subject is fruitful, and one might write for weeks, to little purpose, as debtors are determined to be robbed, and will be gratified before they know it, so that they will hardly know what hurt them.

Of course I hold that all fluctuations of the rate of interest, and all changes to the measure of values, important enough to effect anything, must rob somebody. When money is inflated creditors are robbed, and when money is contracted, debtors are robbed. Those who know most are the most likely to save themselves. Knowledge is power. Send along the paper.

Respectfully yours, HENRY N. STONE.
Boston, Dec. 18, 1868.

THE ADVANTAGES OF THE SAFETY FUND MONEY OVER SPECIE.

From the New Monetary System.

The following illustrations will show the different effects of a specie and a paper currency upon the prosperity of countries having materials for the formation of either. Suppose two fertile islands to exist, each containing a silver mine as productive as the average of those now worked. Two parties, of a hundred thousand settlers each, emigrate to these islands, taking with them implements of husbandry, a stock of cattle, merchandise, tools, etc., and provisions for a year, in procuring which they nearly exhaust their money. Arrived at their respective destinations, they locate their lands, etc., and each party begins to make exchanges among its members. The want of money is soon severely felt. The inhabitants of one island determine to have a metal currency, and accordingly prepare to work their silver mine. One-fifth of the whole population, i. e., twenty thousand, are men capable of labor. Three thousand engage in working the mine, and with their families constitute a population of fifteen thousand, who consume the products of others. Suppose each man to earn or make half a dollar a day; total in a year four hundred and fifty thousand dollars. This sum being exchanged by the miners for food, clothing, etc., goes into immediate circulation. It will require nearly three years to supply the money necessary for their internal exchanges, say \$12 for each inhabitant, i. e., \$1,200,000; and during this

period money must be very scarce. The shipment of any specie abroad to pay for goods, will increase the want of money at home. Suppose the population to increase three per cent., that is, three thousand a year, they must continue to mine \$36,000 yearly, to maintain the proportion of \$12 to each individual.

The inhabitants of the other island determine not to work their silver mine, but to establish a Safety Fund, and lend the paper money as heretofore stated. All have the opportunity to borrow to one-half the value of their productive land. This money costs nothing but the comparatively trifling labor of the paper and engraving. If a surplus be in circulation, its owner can at any time pay off a mortgage to the Fund and stop the interest, or fund the money and receive interest. The exact amount required will always be in circulation, and the interest being regular, the value of the money will be invariable.

The difference between the labor to mine and coin the silver money, and the labor to make and engrave the paper money, will be a clear saving to the island using the paper money; and all this difference of labor can be applied to the production of articles for export. The island using the paper money can export about as great an amount of products as the other island will coin in m If the latter island require the products of the former, and exchange coins for them, the former island will use the silver money for manufactures, or for export; it cannot need them for money. If the Fund lend at one and one-tenth per cent. interest, the island will always have an abundance of money at a low and uniform rate, so that every branch of industry can be carried on to the best advantage, and the property will be distributed to those whose labor shall earn it. But the business and productive industry of the island using coins will be constantly retarded for want of money, and the high and fluctuating rates of interest will inevitably concentrate the wealth in the hands of a few capitalists, and leave the producers in poverty. The people of the island using the paper currency will be rich, virtuous, and happy, while those using the silver money will be poor, wicked, and miserable, because poverty and avarice will lead to crime. If the two islands, instead of trading with each other, maintain trade with other nations, it must be obvious that the one using the paper money will have a great advantage over the one using the silver money.

Suppose the same number of emigrants to settle on a third island, and borrow their whole currency of a foreign nation, say \$1,000,000 in gold, silver, or paper money, at an interest of eight per cent. per annum, payable half yearly. If their imports equal their exports, and they be obliged to issue bonds every six months at eight per cent. to pay the interest, in fifty-three years the island will become indebted to foreign nations \$64,000,000; \$63,000,000 of which will be interest on the 1,000,000 originally borrowed. The people must lose this amount in consequence of defective legislation. If the emigrants through their government establish a Safety Fund, and provide their own currency, instead of importing it, they will save the whole interest, besides having great advantages by the abundance of money.

Paper money can be as easily made to exceed coins in value, as coins to exceed paper money, because the value of all money is governed by the per centage interest. Let the Safety Fund lend paper money, and fund it with Safety

Fund Notes bearing six per cent.; let it lend coins, and fund them with Safety Fund Notes bearing but four per cent., and the paper money will always be the more valuable, and command a premium in exchange for the coins. The paper money will as certainly command a premium above the coins, as a ground rent at six per cent. will command more than one at four per cent. If this nation had a sufficient quantity of specie for a currency, it would still be necessary to have an institution similar to the Safety Fund; for the interest upon it could only be kept regular by the establishment of an institution to make loans at a uniform rate of interest whenever good security was offered, and to fund the specie whenever it was redundant.

A government may obtain an immense power over the property of the people by furnishing a paper currency at six per cent. interest. Suppose our government to establish a Safety Fund, and make its paper money the only tender in payment of debts. Let the Safety Fund lend an amount equal to say \$15 to each inhabitant for a population of 20,000,000, that is, \$300,000,000, and money would become plenty. This sum lent on double its amount of landed estate, would cover \$600,000,000 worth of property. If the government should leave the principal outstanding during the regular payment of the interest, it would receive from the interest, after deducting say \$1,000,000 for the expenses of the Safety Fund, an annual revenue of \$17,000,000. After a year or two let the Fund refuse to make further loans, and yearly collect its net gain of \$17,000,000 for ten years, i. e., \$170,000,000, and the whole business of the nation must be transacted with the remaining \$130,000,000. This would cause a great sacrifice of the mortgaged property and greatly depress the price of other lands and products. In six years more, the government would collect in \$102,000,000 additional interest, thereby reducing the currency to \$28,000,000. The interest for two years more would amount to \$34,000,000, but only \$28,000,000 could be paid, because the whole amount of money would be exhausted. By foreclosing its mortgages, the government could buy the \$600,000,000 worth of property for the \$6,000,000 which would still be due. Hence it is evident that the law has power to make paper money control property as effectually as gold and silver coins.

THE MONEY MARKET

was stringent throughout the week, and toward the close call loans ranged from 7 per cent. in currency to 7 per cent. in gold, and in some cases commissions 1-32, 1-16 and $\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. were added to the legal rate. The weekly bank statement shows a decrease of \$1,091,650 in loans, \$702,719 in specie, \$4,573,476 in deposits, \$2,089,973 in legal tenders and an increase of \$39,356 in circulation.

The following table shows the changes in the New York city banks this week compared with the preceding week:

	Dec. 19.	Dec. 26.	Differences.
Loans,	\$262,434,180	\$261,342,530	Dec. \$1,091,650
Specie,	18,643,584	17,940,865	Dec. 702,719
Circulation,	34,253,758	34,387,114	Inc. 33,356
Deposits,	183,097,228	178,503,752	Dec. 4,573,476
Legal-tenders,	50,796,132	48,706,160	Dec. 2,089,973

THE GOLD MARKET

closed quiet and steady.

The fluctuations in the gold market for the week were as follows:

	Opening.	Highest.	Lowest.	Closing.
Monday, Dec. 21,	134 $\frac{1}{2}$	135 $\frac{1}{2}$	134 $\frac{1}{2}$	135 $\frac{1}{2}$
Tuesday, 22,	135 $\frac{1}{2}$	135 $\frac{1}{2}$	134 $\frac{1}{2}$	135
Wednesday, 23,	135	135	134 $\frac{1}{2}$	134 $\frac{1}{2}$
Thursday, 24,	134 $\frac{1}{2}$	135	134 $\frac{1}{2}$	135
Friday, 25,	Christmas			
Saturday, 26,	134 $\frac{1}{2}$	135	134 $\frac{1}{2}$	134 $\frac{1}{2}$

THE FOREIGN EXCHANGE MARKET

was dull at the close at 109 $\frac{1}{2}$ to 109 $\frac{1}{2}$ for prime bankers 60 days sterling bills, and 110 $\frac{1}{2}$ to 110 $\frac{1}{2}$ for sight.

THE RAILWAY SHARE MARKET

was strong and buoyant at the close, especially in New York Central and Rock Island.

The following are the closing quotations:

Canton, 48 $\frac{1}{2}$ to 49 $\frac{1}{2}$; B. W. Power, 13 $\frac{1}{2}$ to 14; Cumberland, 36 to 37; W. F. & Co., 25 to 25 $\frac{1}{2}$; American, 38 to 43; Adams, 48 $\frac{1}{2}$ to 49; U. States, 45 to 46; Merchants Union, 15 to 15 $\frac{1}{2}$; Quicksilver, 21 $\frac{1}{2}$ to 21 $\frac{1}{2}$; Mariposa, 5 $\frac{1}{2}$ to 7; do. preferred, 19 $\frac{1}{2}$ to 20 $\frac{1}{2}$; Pacific Mail, 119 $\frac{1}{2}$ to 119 $\frac{1}{2}$; W. U. Tel., 33 $\frac{1}{2}$ to 33 $\frac{1}{2}$; N. Y. Central, 153 $\frac{1}{2}$ to 154; Erie, 39 $\frac{1}{2}$ to 39 $\frac{1}{2}$; do. preferred, 62 to 64; Hudson River, 133 to 133 $\frac{1}{2}$; Reading, 98 $\frac{1}{2}$ to 98 $\frac{1}{2}$; Toledo & Wabash, 58 $\frac{1}{2}$ to 59; Toledo & Wabash preferred, 70 to 74; Mill. & St., P. 67 $\frac{1}{2}$ to 68; do. preferred, 85 $\frac{1}{2}$ to 86; Fort Wayne, 110 $\frac{1}{2}$ to 110 $\frac{1}{2}$; Ohio & Miss., 32 $\frac{1}{2}$ to 32 $\frac{1}{2}$; Mich. Central, 113 $\frac{1}{2}$ to 116; Mich. South, 88 to 88 $\frac{1}{2}$; Ill. Central, 141 to 143; Cleve. & Pittsburg, 83 $\frac{1}{2}$ to 84 $\frac{1}{2}$; Cleve. & Toledo, 101 to 101 $\frac{1}{2}$; Rock Island, 116 $\frac{1}{2}$ to 116 $\frac{1}{2}$; North West, 80 $\frac{1}{2}$ to 80 $\frac{1}{2}$; do. preferred, 82 $\frac{1}{2}$ to 82 $\frac{1}{2}$.

UNITED STATES SECURITIES

were strong and advanced towards the close.

Fisk & Hatch, 5 Nassau street, report the following quotations:

United States sixes, Pacific Railroad, 99 to 99 $\frac{1}{2}$; United States sixes, 1881, registered, 108 $\frac{1}{2}$ to 109; United States sixes, coupon, 114 $\frac{1}{2}$ to 114 $\frac{1}{2}$; United States five-twentieths, registered, 105 $\frac{1}{2}$ to 105 $\frac{1}{2}$; United States five-twentieths, coupon, 1862, 110 $\frac{1}{2}$ to 110 $\frac{1}{2}$; United States five-twentieths, coupon, 1864, 106 $\frac{1}{2}$ to 106 $\frac{1}{2}$; United States five-twentieths, coupon, 1865, 107 $\frac{1}{2}$ to 107 $\frac{1}{2}$; United States five-twentieths, coupon, new, 1865, 110 $\frac{1}{2}$ to 110 $\frac{1}{2}$; United States five-twentieths, coupon, 1867, 110 $\frac{1}{2}$ to 110 $\frac{1}{2}$; United States five-twentieths coupon, 1868, 110 $\frac{1}{2}$ to 110 $\frac{1}{2}$; United States ten-forties, registered, 102 to 102 $\frac{1}{2}$; United States ten-forties, coupon, 105 $\frac{1}{2}$ to 105 $\frac{1}{2}$.

THE CUSTOM DUTIES

for the week were \$1,249,000 in gold against \$1,564,484, \$1,490,000 and \$1,631,000 for the preceding weeks. The imports of merchandise for the week were \$3,875,805 in gold against \$1,792,245, \$3,036,500, and \$4,889,237 for the preceding weeks. The exports exclusive of specie, for the week were \$3,336,000 in currency against \$3,202,177, \$4,020,901, and \$4,260,207 for the preceding weeks. The exports of specie were \$608,790 against \$272,545, \$483,320, and \$230,432 for the preceding weeks.

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